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MODERN ITALY

H.M. THE KING OF ITALY.

Frontispiece.

MODERN ITALY

1748–1922

By

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To

PASQUALE VILLARI

TRANSLATOR'S FOREWORD

THE present edition of an English translation of Signor Pietro Orsi's *Modern Italy* has been brought up to date by the author, and his additions duly incorporated into the original volume, which first appeared in this country and America in 1899. The book which in its early form covered the period from 1748 to 1898, now synchronises with the present year, and many revisions and additions have rendered its scope and interest contemporary in the fullest sense.

CONTENTS

I.

PAGE

ITALY AFTER AIX-LA-CHAPELLE 1–34

Kingdom of Sardinia—Lombardy—Republic of Venice—Republic of Genoa—Parma and Piacenza—Modena and Reggio—Grand duchy of Tuscany—States of the Church—Naples and Sicily—Poetry of Giuseppe Parini—Vittorio Alfieri and nationalist ideal.

II.

ITALY DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION . . 36–48

Effect of French revolution in Italy—First campaign of Napoleon Bonaparte (1796–97)—Origin of the Italian tricolour flag — Fall of the Venetian Republic — New democratic *régime*—Italy conquered by the French—Austro-Russian victory and triumph of reaction—Exiles of 1799 and ideal of a united Italy.

III.

THE NAPOLEONIC RÉGIME 49–64

Napoleon's passage of the St. Bernard, and battle of Marengo—Convocation of Lyons and Italian Republic—Francesco Melzi—Kingdom of Italy—Eugène Beauharnais—Conquest of kingdom of Naples—Abolition of temporal power of the Popes—Italian provinces annexed to French

PAGE

empire—Awakening of Italian life under Napoleonic *régime*—Kingdom of Naples under Joseph Bonaparte and Joachim Murat—Bourbon court in Sicily—Constitution of 1812—Abdication of Napoleon—Restoration of the ancient order—The 'Hundred Days'—Fall of Napoleon—Joachim Murat—His loss of the throne—Last effort and death.

IV.

THE RESTORATION: OLD GOVERNMENTS AND NEW PEOPLES 65–74

Congress of Vienna and re-adjustment of Italy—Austrian predominance—Victor Emmanuel I. returns to Piedmont—Lombardo-Venetian provinces under Austria—Condition of the duchies—Mildness of Tuscan rule—Papal States—Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies—Holy Alliance and liberalism.

V.

REVOLUTIONARY BEGINNINGS 75–93

Carbonarism—Revolution at Naples (1820)—Expedition sent by Holy Alliance against the constitutionalists and restoration of absolutism—Revolution in Piedmont (1821)—Conduct of Charles Albert—Restoration of absolute rule with Charles Felix—Political prosecutions in the Lombardo-Venetian States—Cruelty of Francis IV. of Modena and his designs on the Sardinian succession—Congress of Verona—Charles Albert in Spain.

VI.

TEN YEARS OF REACTION 94–106

Italy from 1821 to 1830—Francis IV. of Modena and Ciro Menotti—Revolution of 1831—United Italian provinces—Austrian intervention and re-establishment of ancient governments—Memorandum of the Powers to the Pope.

VII.

PAGE
GIUSEPPE MAZZINI AND 'YOUNG ITALY' . . 107–121

Letter of Mazzini to Charles Albert—'Young Italy'—Conspirators of '33—Expedition of Savoy—Stern repressions—Ferdinand II. of Naples—The Sicilian risings—Art and science as factors in the nationalist cause.

VIII.

THE FORCE OF PUBLIC OPINION . . . 122–128

Death of the Bandiera brothers—Gioberti and his *Primato Degli Italiani*—Balbo's *Speranze D'Italia*—Pontificate of Gregory XVI.—D'Azeglio's *Ultimi Casi di Romagna.*

IX.

FROM REFORMS TO REVOLUTION . . . 129–159

Charles Albert and Austrian tactics—Pius IX. and reforms—Sudden awakening of the national conscience—Popular agitation, and behaviour of the princes—Charles Albert's reforms—Palermo insurrection—Constitution granted in the Neapolitan States, Piedmont, Tuscany and Rome.

X.

THE WAR OF 1848 160–193

Lombardo-Venetian States at the beginning of 1848—Sanguinary policy of Austrian government—Liberation of Venice—The 'Five Days' at Milan—War of Independence—First successes of the Italian arms—Allocution of Pius IX.—The 15th of May at Naples, and withdrawal of the Neapolitan troops from the war—Tuscans at Curtatone and Montanara—Last victories of the Piedmontese—Defeat of Custoza—Retreat—Armistice—Vicissitudes of Italian states at the end of 1848—Heroic defence of Venice.

XI.

PAGE

THE WAR OF 1849 194-215

Struggle between Piedmont and Austria resumed—Defeat of Novara and abdication of Charles Albert—The 'Ten Days' of Brescia—Restoration of absolutism in the kingdom of Naples—Submission of Sicily—Re-establishment of grand-ducal government in Tuscany—The Roman Republic—French intervention—Garibaldi—Determined resistance of Venice—Daniele Manin.

XII.

THE BEGINNING OF VICTOR EMMANUEL II.'S REIGN 216–232

Victor Emmanuel's interview with Radetzky at Vignale—Reaction triumphant throughout Europe—Peace concluded with Austria—Massimo D'Azeglio and 'Proclamation of Moncalieri'—Gladstone's letter on the Bourbon government—Deplorable condition of rest of Italy—Prosecutions at Mantua—6th of February, 1853, ~~at Milan~~—Memorandum of Cavour—Assassination of the Duke of Parma.

XIII.

THE STAR OF PIEDMONT 233–245

Cavour, president of the Ministry—Development of nationalist feeling—Part taken by Piedmont in Crimean war—Cavour at the Paris Congress—Centralisation of Italian life in Sardinian kingdom—Revolts in kingdom of Naples—Expedition of Sapri—Change of Austrian policy in Lombardo-Venetian States—Bold attitude of Piedmont and speech of Cavour—Alliance with France.

XIV.

THE WAR OF 1859 246–268

Preparation for a new war—Speech of Cavour—Austrian *ultimatum*—Victor Emmanuel's manifesto—Condition of rival armies—Montebello, Palestro, Magenta and Melegnano

PAGE

—Garibaldi and his 'Cacciatori delle Alpi'—Solferino and San Martino—Preliminaries of Villafranca and Peace of Zürich—Cession of Savoy and Nice to France—Fusion of Parma, Modena, Romagna and Tuscany with Piedmont.

XV.

THE MARCH OF 'THE THOUSAND' . . . 269–284

Francis II. King of Naples—Garibaldi and 'The Thousand' from Quarto to Marsala, Calatafimi, Palermo and Milazzo—Victor Emmanuel's army in the Marches and Umbria—Volturno—English sympathy for Italian cause—Capitulation of Gaëta—Kingdom of Italy proclaimed.

XVI.

THE ROMAN QUESTION 286–302

Cavour's speeches on the Roman question—Death of the great minister—Difficulties in new kingdom—Brigandage—Line taken by 'party of action'—Aspromonte—Garibaldi's visit to England—Convention of September, 1864, and transference of capital from Turin to Florence.

XVII.

THE WAR OF 1866 303–309

Alliance of Italy and Prussia—Condition of the armies—Battle of Custoza—Garibaldi in the Trentino—Naval engagement at Lissa—Peace of Prague—Venetia annexed to kingdom of Italy.

XVIII.

ROME THE CAPITAL 310–321

Garibaldi and the volunteers in Papal States—Intervention of France and Battle of Mentana—Neutrality of Italy during the Franco-Prussian War—Occupation of Rome by Italian troops, September 20, 1870—'Law of Guarantees'—Internal

PAGE

administration—Death of Mazzini—The 'Right' and 'Left' —Advent of 'Left' to power—Death of Victor Emmanuel—Death of Pius IX. and election of Leo XIII.

XIX.

REIGN OF HUMBERT I. 322–338

The Irredentist movement—Origin of Triple Alliance —Death of Garibaldi—Internal reform—The Italian in Africa: The Battle of Adua—The riots of May, 1898—Beginning of economic revival—Assassination of Humbert I.

XX.

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY 340–350

The new Sovereigns—Social Reforms—Foreign Policy—Rapprochement with France—Death of Leo XIII.—The new Pope, Pius X.—Visit of President Loubet to Rome——The Giolitti Ministry—Economic developments—Conversion of the Revenue—The Colonies of Erythrea and Somaliland—Difficulties in Foreign Policy—Earthquake at Messina—Fiftieth anniversary of Proclamation of Kingdom of Italy—Pacific penetration of Italians in Tripolitania—War declared on Turkey—Fluctuations of the struggle—Occupation of Ægean Islands—Treaty of Peace—Electoral Reforms.

XXI.

ITALY'S PART IN THE WORLD WAR . . . 351–370

Outbreak of the War—Death of Pope Pius X.—The neutrality of Italy—The currents of public opinion—Days of May, 1915, and Italy's intervention in the War—The campaign of the Isonzo—The naval war—Austrian advance in the Trentino promptly repulsed—Cesare Battisti and Nazario Sauro—The capture of Gorizia—The Carso campaign—The Italian advance in the Bainsizza—The disaster at Caporetto—The foreign invasion of the Veneto—Resistance on the Piave—Revival of national feeling—Italian Marine—Battle

PAGE

of Piave, June, 1918, is beginning of Austrian defeat—Italian offensive of October—Victorious advance—Italian flag at Trieste and Trento—The War won—The Peace Treaties—Question of Fiume—Treaty of Rapallo.

XXII.

ITALY IN 1922 371–377

Consolidation of peace—The Genoa Conference—The new Pope, Pius XI.—Visit of Belgian Sovereigns to King of Italy—Mussolini and the Fascismo—Financial position of the State—Great public works—Fusion of Italian population—Census of 1921—Italians abroad—Colonial possessions.

XXIII.

LITERATURE AND ART 378–406

Revival of literature and art—Eighteenth century poets—Classicism—Romantic School—Political tendencies in Italian literature—Historical research—Musicians—New epoch—Historians—Journalism—Criticism—Later poets—Novelists—The drama—Painting and sculpture—Music—Science, &c.—Conclusion.

INDEX 407

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

H.M. THE KING OF ITALY . . . *Frontispiece*

PAGE

THE ROYAL PALACE, TURIN . . . 5

THE DOGE'S PALACE, VENICE . . . 13

THE DUCAL PALACE, GENOA . . . 17

THE PITTI PALACE, FLORENCE . . . 21

THE VATICAN 25

THE ROYAL PALACE, NAPLES . . . 29

VITTORIO ALFIERI 35

THE ROYAL PALACE, CASERTA . . . 39

THEATRE OF SAN CARLO, NAPLES . . 47

ARCO DELLA PACE, MILAN 55

JOACHIM MURAT 63

GABRIELE ROSSETTI 77

SANTORRE DI SANTAROSA . . . 85

PAGE

FERDINAND II. OF NAPLES 117

CHARLES ALBERT, KING OF SARDINIA . . 131

PIUS IX. 135

LEOPOLD II., GRAND DUKE OF TUSCANY . 139

RUGGERO SETTIMO 153

DANIELE MANIN 189

FERDINAND, DUKE OF GENOA . . . 199

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI 205

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI 209

VICTOR EMMANUEL II. 217

MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO 221

THE CARIGNANO PALACE, TURIN . . . 225

CAMILLO CAVOUR 235

THE MADAMA PALACE, TURIN . . . 247

NAPOLEON III. 261

NINO BIXIO 273

ENRICO CIALDINI 281

THE MONTECITORIO PALACE, ROME . . 285

BETTINO RICASOLI 291

URBANO RATTAZZI 299

ALFONSO LA MARMORA 305

PAGE
ALFREDO CAPPELLINI 308
THE QUIRINAL 317
MARCO MINGHETTI 325
THE MADAMA PALACE, ROME . . . 329
H R.H. THE PRINCESS OF NAPLES . . 335
PRINCE AMEDEO 337
H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF NAPLES . . 339
LUIGI CARLO FARINI 389
GIUSEPPE VERDI 403

I

ITALY AFTER AIX-LA-CHAPELLE

THE traveller who enters Italy by the Mont Cenis tunnel is confronted by a race whose temperament is as hard as the alpine granite and cold as the long alpine winters—a race toughened, braced and disciplined to duty by the constant exercise of arms, whose integrity is preserved and whose interests are guarded by rulers of the honoured dynasty of Savoy.

From the eleventh century this princely house, originally from Maurienne, had begun to extend its dominion in Piedmont, and, by means of its ability and perseverance, had gradually succeeded in subjugating the whole of the province; in fact, by the first half of the eighteenth century, Charles Emmanuel III. had extended the frontier of his territory on the side of the Milanese from the Sesia to the Ticino. Besides Piedmont and Savoy—the cradle of the race—this family had held for centuries the city and province of Nice, and thus possessed a maritime port which assured a free access to the waters of the Tyrrhenian Sea. Here indeed they had obtained the sovereignty of an island which brought to the House of Savoy that royal title coveted by so many generations of its princes.[1] It was war which had led to these results, and by war alone could they be heightened or modified. Thus, from the period extending from 1748 to 1792, during which Italy was at peace, no changes whatever affected the dominions of the House of Savoy.

The territories in question contained about three million two hundred and fifty thousand inhabitants, of whom nearly two million eight hundred thousand belonged to the mainland and only four hundred and fifty thousand to Sardinia. This island had been reduced by four centuries of Spanish misrule to the most deplorable condition; uncultivated and destitute of roads, a great part of it was almost wholly owned by feudatories, mostly of Spanish origin. Some few of the great and radical reforms that it needed were indeed introduced, but with little effect.

Piedmont, on the contrary, had the appearance of a highly cultivated province, with its lowlands rich in mulberries and vines; moreover, the land was divided to such an extent that nearly all the agriculturists were landed proprietors as well. Industries were developing, it is true, but they were subject to a whole code of minute regulations which, although meant to foster their increase, in reality only hindered it. The capital of the kingdom—Turin—only contained seventy-five thousand inhabitants, but its clean, level streets and its wide, regular squares, gave the city a very attractive aspect, so that Montesquieu, who visited it in 1728, pronounced it "*le plus beau village du monde.*"

---

[1] By the peace of Utrecht (1713) Victor Amadeus II. of Savoy had gained Sicily, but in consequence of the attempts of Cardinal Alberoni —the Spanish minister—to recover the lost Italian provinces, the Emperor had insisted on Victor Amadeus ceding Sicily to him and taking in exchange Sardinia: hence the title of the new kingdom—a title preserved by the House of Savoy up till 1861, when Victor Emmanuel II. assumed that of 'King of Italy.'

The court of Turin, although free from the vices of that of Versailles, was organised on much the same basis. A retinue of fully three hundred and thirty courtiers surrounded the monarch, and the annual expenditure amounted to more than two million francs—representing the tenth part of the national revenue. From these courtiers—all of whom were, naturally, nobles—were chosen the ministers and all other state functionaries. The aristocracy likewise monopolised the highest dignities in the Church, whilst no less than two thousand five hundred of its members served in the army, and it was for them that the various officers' ranks were reserved. In consideration of these privileges all the *noblesse* were bound by absolute obedience to the sovereign, even in matters affecting their private life; and this rigorous dependence was all the more irksome, inasmuch that, in such a miniature kingdom, the monarch could keep himself accurately informed as to the affairs of his subjects. This must have provoked discontent among the more independent of the members of his *entourage*, whose natures must have resented such servitude: however, in view of the fact that the royal family was easy-going and well-intentioned, such a discontent would not be likely to have any very serious results.

Count Vittorio Alfieri himself, though an ardent hater of tyrants, wrote, *apropos* of Victor Amadeus III. (who reigned from 1773 to 1796): "Although I do not like kings in general, and still less arbitrary ones, I am bound to admit that the family of our princes is excellent, especially when you come to compare it with all the other reigning houses of Europe. And in my inmost heart I rather feel affection for them than otherwise, seeing that this king—like his predecessor Charles Emmanuel III.—has the best intentions, the most charming disposition and exemplary temper, and has done his country a great deal more good than harm."[1] Unfortunately, Victor Amadeus III., although conscientious and upright, was deficient in strength of character and a knowledge of his times, so that it can be understood how, under a prince of such temperament, promotion was granted to the most worthless courtiers.

The clergy counted as a powerful influence, at this period, in the state. Without reckoning Sardinia and Savoy, there were not less than twenty thousand priests and twelve thousand monks and nuns in the province of Piedmont alone. The Church possessed its own tribunals and prisons; it claimed the exclusive right of judging cases against ecclesiastics and sought to establish its own competency against that of the laity in all that had to do with matters of faith, questions of heresy, matrimonial

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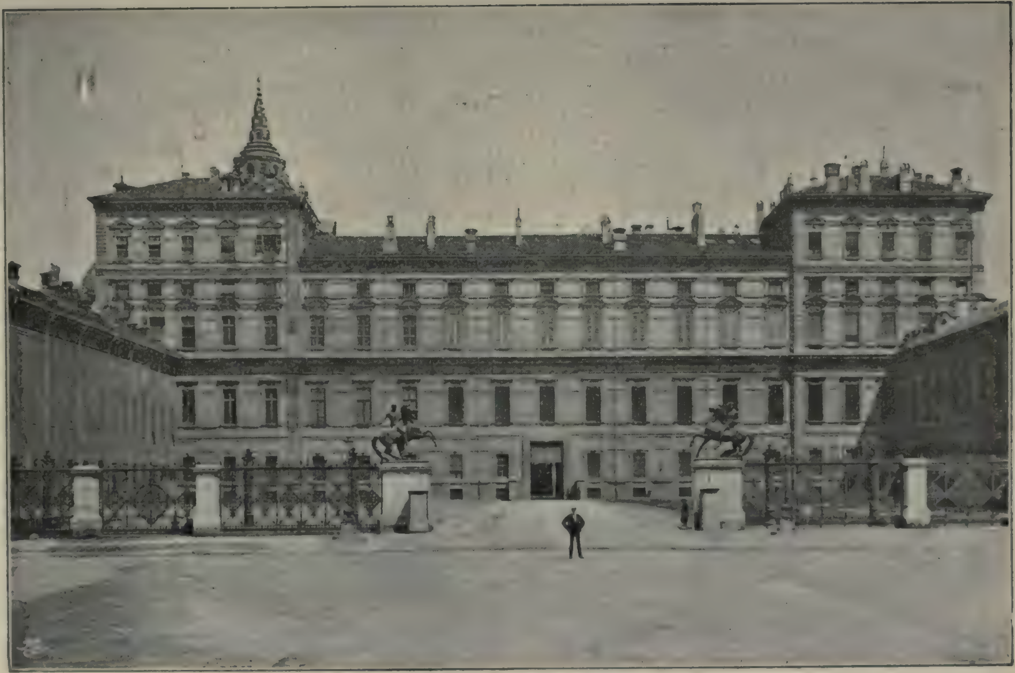
[1] *Vita di Vittorio Alfieri.*



THE ROYAL PALACE, TURIN.

Begun in 1660.

suits, &c. The priesthood formed a wealthy, as well as a numerous body; not so the nobles, among whom there were very few who could boast of an annual income of fifty thousand francs. Both *noblesse* and priesthood were, however, in a great measure exempted from taxation, the burden of which hence fell on the other classes of society.

The *bourgeoisie* naturally viewed the privileges of the nobility as a grievance. The richer members of the middle classes tried to acquire titles and thus to become ennobled themselves. Men who had risen through wealth and education, keenly realised the odium of those social differences which were continually making themselves felt, as, for example, in the fashion of dress, and although they were devoted supporters of an ancient and glorious throne, would have welcomed many reforms had the latter been introduced.

Just at this period, many men, distinguished by genius and learning, began to emerge from the ranks of the Piedmontese *bourgeoisie*. Seeing themselves neglected by the government, and not finding a favourable *milieu* in so-far uncultured Piedmont, they sought for protection and honours elsewhere. Thus Giuseppe Baretti (1716–1789), the eminent critic, author of the *Frusta Letteraria*, lived for many years in England; the illustrious historian, Carlo Denina (1731–1813), the author of the *Rivoluzioni D'Italia*, incurred the bitter hatred of the friars on account of his book, *Dell'Impiego Delle Persone*, and to avoid their persecution, took refuge in Berlin, whither Frederic II. had invited him, and thence went to Paris where he died; whilst the great mathematician, Luigi Lagrange (1736–1813), also passed the most important years of his life in Berlin and Paris. Thus the influential members of the middle class who would have been most capable of initiating a movement of ideas, emigrated instead.

The King, Victor Amadeus III., thought of nothing but the army, and on this he lavished all his time and attention. He adopted Frederic II. as his model and for this reason affected Prussian uniforms, weapons, and discipline for his soldiers; but these innovations served more for external display rather than for any practical purpose. He devoted enormous sums to the furtherance of his plans; out of a revenue of twenty million francs, ten were monopolised for the expenses of the army. As might have been expected, the financial administration did not prosper; the deficit, that had begun some years before, as well as the taxes, went on continually increasing. But notwithstanding, he pursued his way, strangely heedless of whither it tended and absolutely ignoring the new order of things.

⁂

Passing beyond the Ticino, we reach that beautiful and fertile plain of Lombardy which was formerly the centre and living nucleus of the Italian communes: many of the magnificent buildings which now embellish its cities, as well as some of the most useful public works which make this region the true paradise of Italy, date back to that glorious epoch. This flourishing state of things had continued under the Visconti and Sforza *régimes*, but no sooner had Spanish rule supplanted the latter, than all progress was arrested, though it is worthy of note that the decadence of Lombardy was not so rapid as that of Naples and Sicily. At the beginning of the eighteenth century the Milanese had passed to Austrian rule under which it had been amalgamated with Mantua, the latter having been deprived of the Gonzaga dynasty which in the last wars had declared against the empire.

Under the new order the Lombardy province began to recover from the miserable condition to which it had been reduced by Spanish mis-government. When the war of the Austrian Succession was ended and Maria Theresa's position had been established, an epoch of material and intellectual regeneration was inaugurated for Lombardy. The whole of the administration was reorganised; the taxes were more fairly distributed; the privileges of the clergy were reduced; the Inquisition and right of asylum were abolished; the streets were improved; agriculture was assisted and an impulse was given to industry and commerce. The country, moreover, followed the initiative of the government, in spite of the latter being that of the foreigner. The leading families had a share in public affairs; thus we can see the Belgioioso, Visconti, Serbelloni, Trivulzio, Castelbarco, D'Adda, Pallavicini, Borromeo and Litta houses represented in high offices of the state. These and other families, all very wealthy, lived in great splendour and entertained with much magnificence.

Indeed, at this epoch Milan could rank as the first of Italian cities. In 1778 the theatre of *La Scala* was opened; it suddenly acquired fame through the wonderful stage representations there given. Learning flourished likewise: in many *salons* of the upper classes, literary and scientific men found a favourable reception, and the new theories of French philosophy were discussed. Milan, in fact, became a nursing-ground for these modern notions. In 1761 the Marquis Cesare Beccaria published his valuable little work *Dei Delitti E Delle Pene*, in which he advocated the abolition of torture and the death penalty, and suggested a more equitable adjustment of punishments to crimes. Shortly afterwards, Count Pietro Verri—one of the most worthy and zealous promoters of civil reforms—and his brother Alessandro, a man of recognised literary ability, with Beccaria and others, brought out a periodical entitled *Il Caffè*, in which for more than a year, they treated, for the public benefit, questions affecting legislation, morals, history and letters, and proclaimed unexpected truths in no uncertain voice.

Milan itself then contained one hundred and thirty thousand inhabitants, and those in the remainder of the province were computed at a million. Among the lesser towns, Pavia was celebrated for its university where the government had gathered together such distinguished men as the physician, Alessandro Volta, the naturalist, Spallanzani, and the mathematician

Mascheroni. In other places, as, for example, in Como, the industries were thriving. The country was admirably cultivated and provided with an organised net-work of irrigation canals, but the peasant possessed hardly anything of his own—a deprivation which forcibly aggravated the wretchedness of his existence.

There was much property in the hands of the clergy, who, in spite of all the reforms which had been made, were still flourishing and numerous ; the tale of priests, monks and nuns amounted to about eighteen thousand. Joseph II., who, after the death of his mother, Maria Theresa, in 1780, assumed the reins of power, acted with great energy in the matter of ecclesiastical administration ; he abolished convents that he judged useless and all those religious communities which did not maintain schools, assist the sick, preach, hear confessions or distinguish themselves by their learning, ruling that their existence was to depend on the bishop of the diocese, rather than on the general of the order residing at Rome ; he diminished the number of festivals and prescribed a thousand other remedies of a disciplinary character, encroaching thereby even on the pontifical jurisdiction itself. At the same time he restricted the power of the nobles and issued an infinite number of decrees and laws, renewing and transforming the whole of the administration. It must be admitted, however, that he wished to assure the welfare of his subjects by 'sledge-hammer' methods, and consequently respected neither their traditions, interests nor habits. His work, drastic, hasty and centralising as it was, did not always give satisfaction, but nevertheless it left deep traces on the country. The latter, inured by centuries of habit to a foreign yoke, hardly resented such, but was content to make the most of a material prosperity and a flourishing condition of letters, and to ignore the development of reforms.

⁂

Venice, on the contrary, was uninfluenced by these new ideas ; whilst all the world around her was reforming itself, she sought to preserve intact the edifice of the past, fearing, that were but one stone shaken, the whole might crumble. The province of about three million inhabitants was ruled by a single city, or rather by one class alone of Venetian citizens who governed by hereditary right ; the mainland—that is to say, Venetia, Istria and Dalmatia, and the small territory that the Republic still possessed in the East, had no share in the government. The sovereignty belonged to the Great Council composed of all the Venetian patricians over the age of twenty-five ; in 1780 their number amounted to a thousand and twenty-three. The Great Council, or *Maggior Consiglio*, elected from its midst the Senate, which was composed of about two hundred and fifty members, and was responsible for the conduct of affairs ; but the real centre of executive authority was the Lesser Council, or *Signoria*, constituted by the Doge, by his six councillors, by the three chiefs of the Council of Forty (*Quarantia*), and by the Council of Sixteen Wise Men (*Savii*) who were elected by the Senate. The Doge by himself could do nothing, he was not allowed even to read the letters addressed to him by foreign powers, but was only the apparent head of the state.

Such a political order did not harmonise with the new age; already the Veronese savant, the Marquis Scipione Maffei, had addressed, as far back as 1736, his *Consiglio Politico*, to the Venetian rulers, in which he pointed out the propriety of interesting the provinces in the fate of the Republic, and of giving them a share in the government, as a means beneficial to the vitality of the state, but his advice was unheeded. The nobles of the predominating houses trusted in the unbroken continuance of their oligarchy, and if any among them allowed themselves to be influenced by the new French ideas, they ran the risk of sharing the unhappy fate which awaited Angelo Querini, Giorgio Pisani, and Carlo Contarini, who, in their efforts to introduce reforms into the existing system of affairs, were arrested and condemned to many years of imprisonment. The governing authorities looked upon these proposals as the vagaries of a visionary and factious youth, and imagined the perfection of political science to consist in keeping intact the normal order of things in the Republic.

The same principle was also applied to external politics. The last war carried on by Venice had been that against the Turks—1714 to 1718—in which she lost the Morea. Thenceforward the Republic took refuge in absolute isolation and complete inaction. She stood in fear, indeed, of the ambitious views of Austria, but dared not declare herself inimical to the latter, or

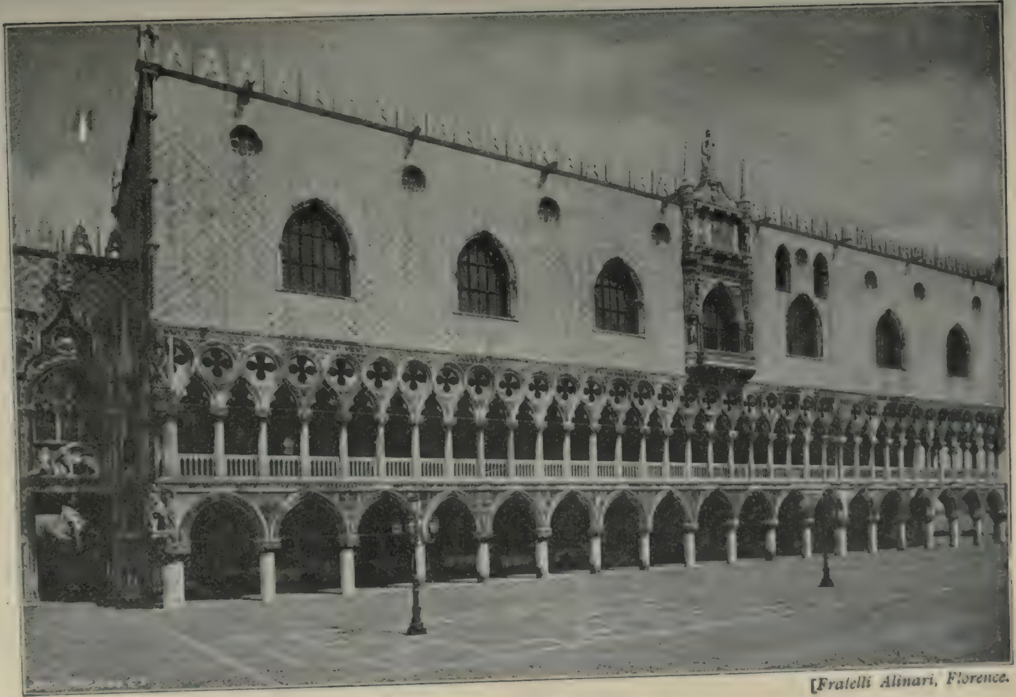


Photo.] [Fratelli Alinari, Florence.

THE DOGE'S PALACE, VENICE.

xiv.–xvth century.

venture to ratify an alliance with France; therefore, in the various wars waged in Italy, in the first half of the eighteenth century, she preserved a neutrality, which being, as it were, unarmed, obtained, at least, respect. Hence her power in the eyes of Europe was already rapidly on the wane. Moreover the last campaign sustained by Venice had proclaimed to the world not only her inherent weakness, but also the deficiency of her military equipment. In that arsenal—in past times so justly celebrated—there were but a few vessels in course of construction, a scant number of workmen and indifferent munitions of war. The army was in a worse condition than the fleet and consisted of barely twenty thousand ill-clad and undisciplined troops. Rightly enough did the old patrician, Francesco Pesaro, exclaim: "We live under the protection of the good faith of our friends and neighbours, and in that we put our trust!"

This perilous situation, which ought to have awakened keen anxiety, did not in the least affect the pleasure-loving and frivolous existence led by the Venetians. All the idlers of Europe willingly found their way to Venice where there existed an ample license for pleasure; it was the custom to wear masks for a good half of the year; manners were very free, not to say demoralised, and the passion for play was widespread. The famous adventurer, Giacomo Casanova, in his *Memorie*, has represented—certainly not without some exaggeration—the gay and idle life of the Venetians at this epoch. Their *fêtes* were frequent and magnificent; some few families possessed vast incomes. The clergy were likewise wealthy and numerous; the province was reckoned to contain nearly forty thousand priests, monks and nuns. In the main, however, the country was not rich; its industries were greatly reduced, although its inhabitants viewed the decline of its commerce with indifference. The one work of great utility achieved at this time was the long breakwater against the inroads of the sea, consisting of the huge marble walls called the *Murazzi*. Certainly the taxes were not heavy—a fact which caused the government to be favourably regarded by the majority, especially by the lower classes.

Though the sun of the Republic was setting, it was sinking in a flood of gorgeous colour; the brilliant reflection of those fine arts, represented by the music of Benedetto Marcello (1686–1739), the paintings of G. B. Triepolo (1693–1770) and the comedies of Carlo Goldoni, the renowned reformer of the Italian stage (1707–1793), cast, as it were, luminous rays of glory over the moribund state, suggestive though they might be of the hectic splendours of decay.

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Much less political importance had the Republic of Genoa, henceforth Reduced to the mere possession of the Ligurian coasts, with barely four hundred thousand inhabitants. Weary of the constant revolts of Corsica, it had, at length (1768), ceded to Louis XV. all its rights in this island which after an obstinate resistance had been obliged to submit to France. Pasquale Paoli, the hero of Corsican independence, embarked with some followers in a British vessel and sought an asylum in England. In the struggle against Corsica, Genoa had displayed all her weakness; nevertheless, her people were still bold and warlike and had given striking proofs of courage in the famous days of December, 1746, when they expelled the Austrians and Russians from the city. But these transitory efforts did not suffice to imbue with energy and vitality a government with no more glorious ambition than that of living in peace and quiet.

In Genoa likewise, the reins of power were in the hands of the aristocracy; but, contrary to the Venetian custom where he was elected for life, here the Doge only remained in office two years. He was nominated by the Great Council, but the nobles drew lots for the other offices in the state, and from this custom originated the *lotto* system, which afterwards obtained in many Italian states. The activity of the people was entirely absorbed by commerce which continued to flourish, for Genoa was, indubitably, the most important of all Italian seaports.

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The two duchies of Parma and Modena counted for very little in the political balance of Italy. The dukedoms of Parma and Piacenza had been created in 1545 by Pope Paul III., a member of the Farnese family, for the advantage of his son Pier Luigi. This house which never especially distinguished itself, became extinct in 1731. The duchy, after many vicissitudes, finally passed in 1748 to Don Philip of Bourbon—the second son of Elizabeth, the sister of the last Farnese, who had become Queen of Spain—with

From a photograph by] [*Brogi.*

THE DUCAL PALACE, GENOA.

whom the Bourbon dynasty was initiated at Parma. Under the influence of his first minister, Guillaume Du Tillot, a Frenchman, Don Philip inaugurated important reforms, set limits to the privileges of the *noblesse* and the immunity of the priesthood, and encouraged arts and letters to such an extent that Parma became one of the most cultured cities in Italy.

Du Tillot's work of reformation was carried on even after the death of Don Philip in 1765, during the minority of Duke Ferdinand, but when the latter attained his majority, Du Tillot saw his power decline and eventually retired. The young Duke, educated under the influence of Condillac and Mably, became—as frequently happens in such cases—a believer, nay a *dévot;* he sang in the choir with the clergy, embellished altars, gave audiences in the sacristy and amused himself by ringing the bells; all these employments, however, did not prevent him from leading a dissolute life. Under such a prince, not only were further reforms hindered, but those already achieved were abolished.

This state contained a little more than four hundred thousand inhabitants and fewer still did the adjoining duchy of Modena possess, *i.e.*, three hundred and eighty thousand. The province was then governed by Hercules III., the last representative of that ancient house of Este which, at one time, had acquired such wide renown through the magnificence of its court and the protection it had given to arts and letters. For nearly two centuries, however, this dynasty had lost its ancient capital, Ferrara—annexed by the pontifical government in the year 1598—and it had been compelled to withdraw to Modena and rest content with the latter territory and Reggio: naturally, from this epoch, its history had only a restricted and local importance. Hercules III. managed to exist quietly without troubling his head about innovations or clashing with the papal court; indeed, his one object was to make money. It is said that with three million francs of income, he found means of annually saving a third. He had only one daughter, Beatrice, given in marriage to the Archduke Ferdinand of Austria, a son of Maria Theresa who had gladly furthered such an alliance since it greatly served to extend Austrian influence in Italy.

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The chief princely Italian families seemed fated to disappear nearly at the same time. In 1737, that house of Medici whose name is as intimately associated with literature and the fine arts as it is with the history of Florence, and which had represented, in truth, the sovereignty predestined for an artistic race, became extinct. Its last scions had hardly carried on worthily their ancestral traditions and had allowed Tuscany to decay rapidly; the only notable work achieved by them had been the foundation and embellishment of Leghorn which was to become an important commercial centre.

By the peace of Vienna (1738) the grand duchy of Tuscany had been assigned to Francis of Lorraine, husband of Maria Theresa. He was not long in Tuscany for he found himself embroiled in the great wars of the Austrian Succession and afterwards ascended the imperial throne. However, his ministers laid the bases of reforms to which his second son, Peter Leopold I., who succeeded him in the dukedom in 1765, subsequently gave great impetus.

Even to-day the memory of Leopold I. is still cherished in Tuscany with deep affection and gratitude and he is regarded, with justice, as one of the most distinguished of Italian reforming rulers. With an *entourage* that comprised such men as Pompeo Neri, Giulio Rucellai and others, Leopold set himself to destroy every trace of mediævalism. Above all, he aimed at diminishing the power of the priesthood, a necessary step in Tuscany where, under the later Medici, the clergy had acquired extraordinary wealth and influence; in a population of less than a million there were twenty-seven thousand ecclesiastics who owned, moreover, the greater part of the soil. Leopold sought to suppress their immunities and likewise protected the religious movement initiated by Scipione Ricci, the bishop of Pistoia, who desired to lead the Church back to its evangelical purity; hence sharp contests with Rome. Leopold likewise introduced reforms in all other branches of public administration; he absolutely ratified the freedom of trade in cereals; he established the equality of all citizens in the matter of taxation and, from the first, subjected his own property thereto. He sought, by draining marshes, to better the condition of the Maremma; he protected commerce, and encouraged study by reforming and improving the universities of Pisa and Siena.

Photo.] [Fratelli Alinari, Florence.

THE PITTI PALACE, FLORENCE.

Residence of the Grand-Duke (xvth century.)

He was also the first among the world's rulers to abolish torture and the death-penalty. In 1789 he published a statement of government accounts of the revenue and expenditure from 1765 to 1788, and it would appear, intended granting a constitution, had he not been called, through the death of his brother Joseph II. in 1790, to fill the imperial throne. His reforms however, in general, were so above the comprehension of his subjects, that the majority of the latter failed to appraise their beneficial effects.

In Tuscany too, there still existed the little Republic of Lucca, a relic of the communal period, whose territory extended as far as the sea-coast of Viareggio. With her population of a hundred and twenty thousand inhabitants, governed by a hundred noble families, with her noble and ecclesiastical landowners and her garrison of soldiers maintained only for parade, Lucca was a typical miniature representative of an Italian state in the eighteenth century.

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The popes had finally succeeded, after efforts lasting for several centuries, in rendering their temporal sovereignty indisputable and in uniting their states; thus it was that the city of Bologna, which had always preserved something of a republican attitude and a certain amount of autonomy, had to renounce these against its will (1788). There existed, in fact, in the centre of the peninsula, a district comprising two millions and a half of inhabitants, governed by priests, with a papal ruler elected by cardinals who in their turn were nominated by the pontiff with ministers of religion ordained by the same functionaries and episcopal governors. Hence, if the clergy were powerful in the other Italian provinces, in the papal dominions they were omnipotent ; for the state itself came to be looked upon as an ecclesiastical benefice, to be freely exploited, without the least regard for the welfare of the people or the progress of civilisation. It can be easily understood how, under such a government, the inhabitants became not only inert and poor, but demoralised and vicious as well.

An eminent French writer, the president, Charles de Brosses, who visited Rome in 1740, has recorded his impressions of the then-existing *régime* in words of burning indignation: " The government is as bad as it is possible to conceive. You feel that here is realised the antithesis of the Utopias that Machiavelli and Morus delighted to construct. Imagine, if you can, a population in which one fourth is composed of priests, one fourth of statues, another fourth of idlers, and a state where neither agriculture, commerce nor mechanics exist, in spite of its people living in the midst of a fertile province, on the banks of a navigable river ; where the ruler, always aged, with few more years to live, is, as often as not, absolutely incapable of independent action and is surrounded by relatives whose one idea is to 'make hay while the sun shines,' and where, at each change in the pontificate, fresh thieves appear on the scene to supplant those who are sated with plunder, for here any one may become a scourge to society, provided he be backed up by influential friends, or within reach of an asylum."[1]

Francesco Becattini also, in his *Storia Di Pio VI.* (Venice, 1800), was compelled to admit that, with the exception of Turkey, the States of the Church were worse governed than any other part of Europe. There was an utter absence of that hard-working and enlightened middle-class who were beginning to come to the front in Northern Italy, for no *bourgeoisie* bridged the gulf between a proud and ignorant nobility and the proletariat. All the cities were besides inundated with an incredible number of beggars.

Rome itself swarmed with ecclesiastics who had come thither, from all parts of the world, with the sole aim of making their fortune. All offices were venal, and with the revenues derived from such sales and the offerings of the faithful from all parts, the papal court had the wherewithal to draw upon, without grinding down its subjects by taxes; but as in the country districts there was neither industry nor commerce, and agriculture was much neglected, the population suffered even by meeting such small taxation as was demanded of them.

It must be owned, however, that the 'Eternal City' had been greatly improved during the three preceding centuries, that is to say, after the popes had almost entirely given their attention to their temporal dominion, and even during these later days, had been enriched by the imposing colonnades of

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[1] *Lettres Historiques Et Critiques Sur L'Italie, de Charles De Brosses. Paris, an. vii., tom. ii., pp.* 245–246.

THE VATICAN.

the Piazza of St. Peter, the fountains of Piazza Navona and Trevi, and the façade of St. John Lateran, &c., while the splendid collection contained in the Museo Pio-Clementino had been brought together. Rome, at that time, comprised one hundred and sixty thousand inhabitants.

Pope Pius VI. (1775–1799) turned his attention to the country and attempted to drain the Pontine marshes, but spent vast sums thereon with but little result. This served but the better to enrich his nephew, Braschi, for whom the Pontiff built a palace in Rome. Nepotism to any great extent had indeed been abolished, but the Pope's relations were always omnipotent at court and controlled, at their own pleasure, the revenues of the state. This same Prince Braschi had for some time as his secretary the young priest, Vincenzo Monti, who was then beginning to acquire a distinguished name in the literary world by his tragedy of *Aristodemo*. Literature and the arts were still in some measure represented at Rome; the archæologist, Ennio Quirino Visconti was already celebrated; the sculptor, Antonio Canova, who had arrived there, still young, from his native Venetian province, had even then attained distinction by his first works; the Milanese savant, Alessandro Verri, had taken up his residence in the city, whilst Vittorio Alfieri had finished his first tragedies and had read them aloud in the *salons:* all this activity, however, only exercised a limited and nearly unappreciable influence over a small and restricted circle of cultivated persons. The Roman aristocracy as well as the clergy neglected study, whilst the new philosophy was bitterly detested because it had an evident tendency to abate ecclesiastical privileges.[1]

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The largest Italian state was the kingdom of Naples and Sicily, containing about six millions of inhabitants. This unhappy country had been terribly exhausted by Spanish rule which had ruined the population without achieving anything for their good: never indeed had a government less care for its subjects. When the Spaniards had to evacuate those provinces at the commencement of the eighteenth century, they left them destitute alike of roads, industries and commerce.

After a short Austrian dominion, the new Bourbon dynasty was implanted in the Neapolitan States in 1734, in the person of Charles III., eldest son of Elizabeth Farnese, Queen of Spain. To him belongs the credit of having chosen the learned Bernardo Tanucci as his prime minister, who may be justly regarded as the inaugurator of all the reforms made in the kingdom. These were initiated by an attempt to diminish ecclesiastical immunities and privileges and to reduce the number of priests, monks and nuns which was truly astounding. On the mainland alone, in a population of less than five millions, there were one hundred thousand religious. Steps were then taken to weaken and lessen feudalism, much stronger here than elsewhere in Europe, and in order to ensure this the more easily, the barons were invited to court. In the magnificence and extravagance of Neapolitan life many of them were fairly ruined, whilst this policy of absenteeism tended to lessen their power in the country districts.

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[1] The popes at this epoch had a hard struggle to defend the Jesuits who had been expelled from Portugal, France and Spain as well as from Naples and Parma, but finally Pope Clement XIV. determined in 1773, on their abolition. The Society of Jesus was afterwards re-constituted by Pius VII. in 1814.

The city of Naples gained much from the new dynasty, not only in social brilliancy, but in beautiful buildings, such as the imposing theatre of San Carlo and the palace of Capodimonte. In a wish to imitate the splendours of Versailles, Charles III. caused the royal palace of Caserta to be built in an immense park, at the cost of six millions of ducats. Under his auspices also the excavations at Pompeii and Herculaneum—the two cities buried in the terrible eruption of Vesuvius in the year 79 A.D.—were carried on. High roads in the vicinity of Naples were likewise opened up, but this was more to benefit the court than the people at large. Pompous display continued to be the principal characteristic of the Neapolitan government, but it did not ameliorate the miserable condition of the country, which was aggravated by swarms of beggars. In Naples itself the *lazzaroni*, as they were called, led an idle existence in the streets, living on the alms distributed to them at the convents.

In 1759, Charles III., being called to the Spanish throne, made over his Italian possessions to his son Ferdinand, still a minor. Tanucci continued to govern the state and, by agreement with Spain, expelled the Jesuits in 1767. Later was abolished

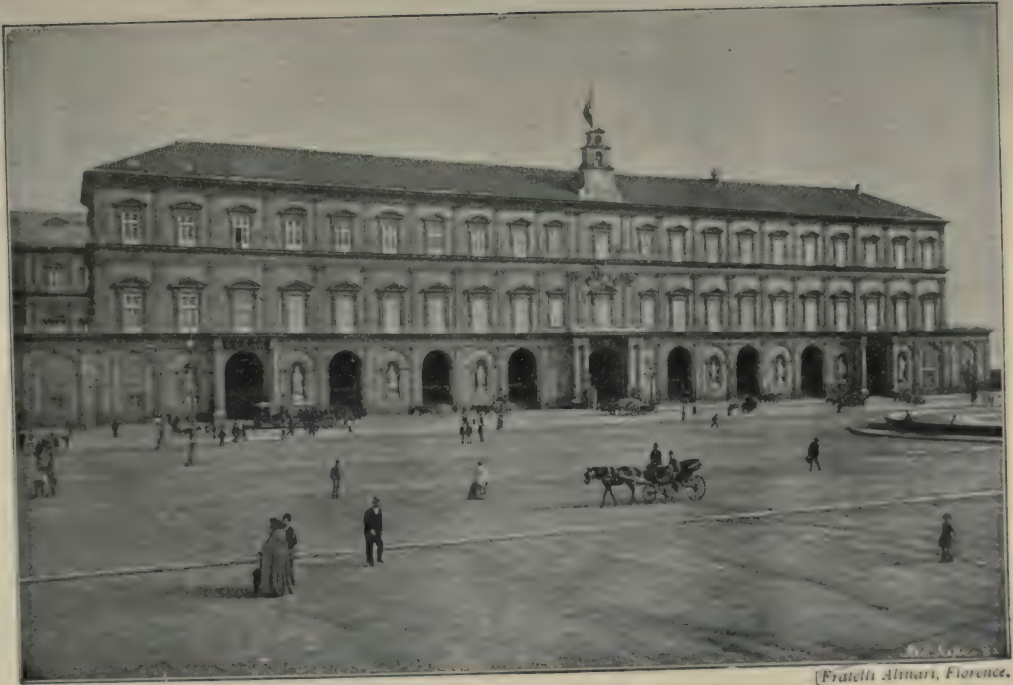

Photo.] [Fratelli Alinari, Florence.

THE ROYAL PALACE, NAPLES.

Begun 1600.

the *chinea*—a horse richly caparisoned—which it was the annual custom to present to the Pope, together with seven thousand golden *scudi*, as a symbol of the vassalage of the Neapolitan kingdom to the Holy See. But Tanucci verified at Naples what Du Tillot had experienced at Parma—the influence of the minister gradually waned, till, in 1776, he received his dismissal.

The direction of affairs, instead of passing into the hands of the King, was assumed by his wife, Maria Caroline of Austria, a daughter of Maria Theresa. Whilst King Ferdinand, ignorant and boorish, did not trouble his head about matters of state, Maria Caroline, a daring and ambitious woman, presided over the ministerial councils and introduced therein one John Acton, an Irishman, born at Besançon who, after having served in the French and Tuscan marine, had been summoned to Naples by Ferdinand and had obtained a high position in the navy. In a short time, Acton had become the favourite of the Queen and the most important personage in the state. He turned all his attention to the army and navy, both of which were in a truly deplorable condition; but although he spent enormous sums—three millions of ducats in the year, out of the eleven and a half millions which represented the revenue of the kingdom—Acton did not succeed in appreciably bettering the existing state of things. On the contrary, he retarded both civil and ecclesiastical reforms, and that, just at the time when the march of progress was advancing with increased speed, owing chiefly to such writers of eminence as Antonio Genovesi, professor of political economy, Gaetano Filangieri, author of that *Storia Della Legislazione* which exercised so great an influence on Neapolitan thinkers, and Mario Pagano who really popularised the new philosophy, and many others. In fact, Naples was an intellectual centre, where the influence of the French encyclopædists was making itself felt.

Far in the rear of this movement of ideas was Sicily who had always held aloof from the current of European civilisation. Severed from Naples after the famous 'Sicilian Vespers' in 1282, she had consisted of a separate kingdom up to the year 1409 when the reigning Aragonese dynasty became extinct. She had then been made a direct dependency of Spain and had been governed by the latter's viceroys up to the beginning of the eighteenth century. First relegated to Victor Amadeus II., afterwards to Austria, Sicily had finally been reunited to Naples under the Bourbons.

Through all these vicissitudes of rule, however, the Sicilian parliament, which, composed of nobles, prelates and representatives, had been a distinct protest against feudalism, had subsisted intact; in fact, the barons and ecclesiastics governed. In a population of one million two hundred thousand inhabitants, nearly eight hundred thousand were dependent on feudatories, and fully sixty-three thousand were priests, monks and nuns. From time to time the ignorant and famished populace revolted, as in 1773, but as these *émeutes* had no political significance, being simply induced, for the most part, by famine, only the lower orders were affected thereby, and the existing rulers always succeeded in pacifying the mob by temporary concessions that did not, however, in the least ameliorate the real state of things. In 1780, the Marquis Domenico Caracciolo, formerly ambassador at Paris, was nominated viceroy. Fired by the innovating theories which he had imbibed in the French capital, he initiated bold reforms which the nobles and clergy, whose own interests were thereby hurt, sturdily opposed; there was no middle class to support him and the proletariat was incapable of understanding the changes he inaugurated; thus his work, but feebly supported by the court of Naples, was a complete failure.

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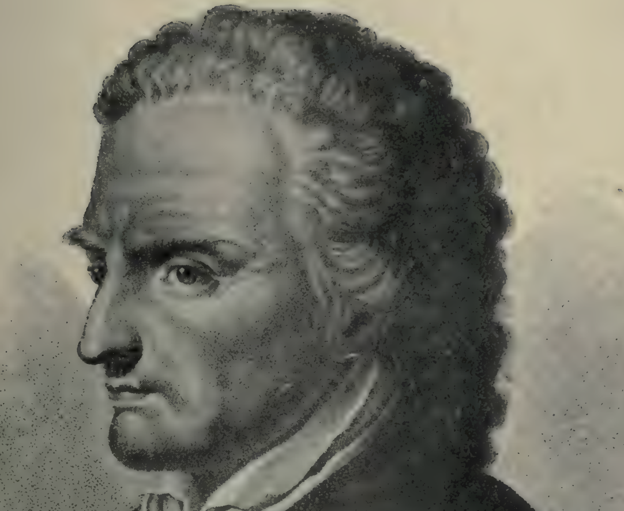
In 1789 Italy was still a paradise for the clergy and *noblesse*, but in some cities, especially in Northern Italy, the development of industries and commerce kept pace with that of the *bourgeoisie*, which, as it increased in numbers and wealth, began to give voice to its discontent at the social order. Amongst such a highly imaginative race as the Italians, the new notions would naturally clothe themselves in poetry; thus Milan, that nursing-mother of innovating spirits, gave birth to Giuseppe Parini (1729–1799). With him, poetry renewed her mission of education; his *Giorno* is a wonderful satire on the idle and empty existence led by the aristocracy as well as a passionate eulogy of the active good qualities of the lower classes. He proclaimed likewise in clear and lofty language the idea of social equality.

"Forse vero non è, ma un giorno è fama
Che fur gli uomini eguali, e ignoti nomi
Fur plebe e nobiltà."

(Perhaps it is not true, but it is said
That once all men were equal, and unknown,
Plebeian, even as patrician, names.
PARINI, *Il Giorno*.)

The verses of Parini were widely read and found a powerful echo throughout the peninsula.

But the voice which rang loudest in support of liberty and sounded even as the herald of a new Italy, was that of the Piedmontese, Vittorio Alfieri (1749–1803). At that time the stage excited universal attention in Italy. Judging from appearances, it might have been thought that the Italians of the eighteenth century had no enthusiasm for anything but theatrical representations. All the richest and most magnificent theatres of Italy date from that epoch. As was natural, music was an important feature in these functions. Pergolesi, Porpora, Tartini and many more composers, won the cordial applause of a public that was as eager to welcome comedy as tragedy. In view of such a taste, Alfieri, a man of strong, energetic and independent character, tried to avail himself of the drama to stir his countrymen—who seemed to him so irresponsive to patriotic sentiments—to nobler ambitions. One ideal in particular was henceforth to be developed in Italy—that of nationality. Heretofore, political divisions had tended to alienate the inhabitants of different provinces from one another. Each still had its individual history and its own private interests, for in every place there were only too many causes for hatred and rivalry. In such a *milieu* did Alfieri dare to be the first to speak aloud of Italian nationality and to bid his compatriots reflect on the ancient greatness of their country and its present decadence. He made them, too, feel the need of that re-awakening whose advent he proclaimed. He dwelt constantly on the idea of a new Italy, at a time when it was hardly thought of. Hence his tragedies have an importance more political than literary, since they may really be said to have accelerated the formation of a national conscience.



VITTORIO ALFIERI.

II

ITALY DURING THE FRENCH REVOLUTION

THE outbreak of the French Revolution produced a twofold effect in Italy. On the one hand, it intimidated the rulers who stopped half-way in reforms for which the people were now more eager than ever; hence a feud which was daily aggravated by the authorities trying to stifle the revolutionary spirit now so widely spread, by a policy of arrests and punishments: on the other, it fomented in the middle class of society a faction which aimed at destroying all the ancient order of things and indemnified its numerical weakness by enthusiasm—largely profiting at the same time by the French invasion.

At one time all the various Italian courts had been excited by the proposal of a general league against France; however, mutual jealousies and rivalries had hindered the organisation of such a coalition. Piedmont alone allied herself with Austria and, in 1792, hostilities commenced. Victory favoured the French who, in the same year, occupied Nice and Savoy, then made slow advances along the Ligurian coast and penetrated into some alpine valleys.

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In 1796 the French government entrusted the command of their army to the young Corsican general, Napoleon Bonaparte, who initiated that year's campaign by addressing to his men the following proclamation: "Soldiers, you are ill-nourished and ill-clad. The government is much indebted to you, but can do nothing on your behalf. Your patience and courage are a credit to you, but you win therefrom neither profit nor renown. I am about to lead you to the most fertile plains in the world; there you will find great cities and rich provinces, there honour, glory and wealth await you. Soldiers of Italy, will you be wanting in courage?"

The soldiers were not wanting in courage, neither did their general lack the necessary genius for fulfilling his promises. By the fighting carried on at Montenotte, Millesimo and Dego, he succeeded in separating the allied Austrian and Piedmontese armies; the Austrians were repulsed along the valley of the Bormida, above Acqui and Alessandria, whilst the Piedmontese fell back in the Tanaro valley, above Ceva and Mondovì.

Bonaparte first turned his attention to the Piedmontese and, on the 28th of April, 1796, obliged King Victor Amadeus III. to make peace: as a result of this, the Piedmontese monarch renounced his claims to Nice and Savoy, ceded several fortresses of Piedmont to the French and granted the latter a free passage through his dominions.

Having thus safeguarded his rear, Bonaparte directed his energies against the Austrian army which had now retreated into Lombardy, and on the

9th of May, his great victory at Lodi brought the whole of the province into his power. The Duke of Parma, taking fright, hastened to compromise matters with the invader by paying the heavy indemnity demanded and making over to him twenty of the best pictures in his gallery.[1] The Duke of Modena betook himself with his treasures to Venice, and left his subjects to come to terms with the conqueror, who exacted from them vast sums of money and confiscated fifteen of the finest pictures in the ducal collection.

The Austrians, having left a strong garrison in Mantua, withdrew to the mountains of Trentino. Bonaparte fortifying the passages of the Adige against all imperialist attacks on that side, now concentrated his efforts against the Pope who had always strongly disapproved of the French Republic: Bologna, Ferrara and Ravenna were easily occupied, and the Pontiff was compelled to sue for peace.

However, Austria had, in the meantime, prepared another great army which, under the command of Marshal Wurmser, descended the valley of the Adige, repulsing the French troops—who were inferior in numbers—on all sides. But Bonaparte, rapidly gathering his forces together, succeeded in routing the Austrians both at Lonato and Castiglione delle Stiviere—to the south of the Lake of Garda. In consequence of this battle, Wurmser retreated and retraced his way up the Adige valley, but having

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[1] Amongst these was Correggio's *St. Jerome* for which the duke vainly offered to pay a million francs: these works of art, with the others taken by Napoleon in Italy, were nearly all restored in 1815.

Photo.] [Fratelli Alinari, Florence.

THE ROYAL PALACE, CASERTA.

reached Trent, he fell back again on Italy by the valley of the Brenta. Bonaparte, who had meantime steadily pursued the Austrian general, kept in his rear till he overtook and defeated him at Bassano; Wurmser, with difficulty, managed to lead a portion of his army to Mantua, and thither Bonaparte hastened to besiege him.

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The cities of Reggio and Modena now revolted against the governors left in charge by the fugitive Duke; the French hastened to take advantage of these risings by forming a provisional government, and thus it was that these two cities, being united with Bologna and Ferrara—already wrested from the Pope—were organised into what was known as the Cispadane Republic. In this way was formed the first Italian state after the French republican invasion: it was the first province to adopt the tricoloured flag, comprising the white and red of the French standard, but substituting for the blue stripe of the latter, the green one that was already in local military use.

The Austrians, however, would not own themselves beaten and, assisted by English gold, raised another army under the command of Alvinzi. By this means Bonaparte found himself in a critical situation, but once more he proved himself capable of overcoming what seemed insuperable difficulties, and in a sanguinary battle at the bridge of Arcole, near Verona (November, 1796), he forced his opponents to retire. The latter, having acquired new reinforcements from Trentino, again fell back on

Verona, but sustained a crushing defeat at Rivoli, in January, 1797. Shortly afterwards Mantua, being sorely pressed, was compelled by the besiegers to surrender.

The Pope, trusting in the ultimate triumph of the Austrian arms, had not kept his engagements with the French; Bonaparte therefore again invaded the Papal States and victoriously entered the Marches and Umbria. The Pontiff, seeing himself thus beset, signed a treaty of peace at Tolentino in February, 1797, by which he renounced his claim to Avignon and Venaissin—occupied by the French since the end of 1791—and to the legations of Ferrara, Bologna and Romagna—which had been taken in 1796—and at the same time paid a heavy indemnity and surrendered many valuable works of art to the victor.

Scarcely had peace been concluded with the Pope, than Bonaparte had to return once more to Upper Italy, to confront another Austrian army under the Archduke Karl, a brother of the Emperor, Francis II. They met at Tagliamento, where the Austrians were again repulsed and pursued by the French who gained a fresh victory at the hill of Tarvisio and advanced as far as Leoben, twenty-five leagues from Vienna. Not till then did Austria condescend to treat and it was at Leoben, the 18th of April, 1797, that the preliminaries of peace were signed.

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At this juncture, false rumours were circulated in the province of Venetia that the French army had been defeated; in several places, the peasantry, invariably opposed to the new order of things, were encouraged by the priests and *noblesse* to arm themselves against the French ; several of such bands entered the city of Verona and, assisted by the populace, massacred all the French they found there. This insurrection, known as the *Pasque Veronesi*, was soon quenched in blood, but Bonaparte saw in it a good pretext against the Venetian Republic and, by threatening the latter with attack, succeeded in changing the form of government. On the 12th of May, 1797, the Great Council of Venice, yielding to the pressure brought to bear upon it, renounced its authority and thus, without offering any dignified resistance, fell the oligarchy which, through long centuries, had ruled the glorious Republic of St. Mark. In its place, a democratic government was set up and the entry of the French into the city was secured. Before long the new-comers had rifled Venice of its wealth and works of art, treating it in every respect as the spoil of the conquered. For example, they carried off to Paris the four horses from the façade of St. Mark's, which had been taken by the Venetians at Constantinople in 1204.

In Genoa, likewise, the ancient aristocratic rule was abolished by Bonaparte's orders and a 'Ligurian Republic,' on the French model, was inaugurated in its stead.

Lombardy, which had been wrested from Austria, was then amalgamated with the Cispadane State, thus forming the so-called Cisalpine Republic, constituted on the lines of its French exemplar, with a directory and two councils. To celebrate the inauguration of this new system of government, the 9th of July was observed as a solemn festival in Milan which thenceforth became the chief centre of Italian life.

In the October of the same year (1797), a treaty of peace was signed at Campo Formio, with Austria who thereby ceded Belgium, as well as all her territory on the right bank of the Rhine, to France and recognised the Cisalpine Republic which was composed, for the most part, of what were formerly Austrian possessions, but in return received the territory of Venetia. Thus the French virtually abandoned Venice which was occupied by the imperial troops on the 8th of January, 1798. In such a humiliating fashion did the Venetian Republic perish—its fall unredeemed by a single act of heroism which could have caused its loss to be regretted.[1]

The cession of Venice to Austria gave the lie to those glorious promises of liberty and independence which had been held out by the French invaders, and the depredations and robberies of which they were guilty in the Cisalpine and Ligurian Republics—treated almost as their vassals—was a bitter grievance to many Italians. Notwithstanding, the two years, 1796–97, marked the epoch of a great re-awakening in the life of the peninsula.

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After the peace of Campo Formio, Bonaparte returned to France in order to organise his Egyptian campaign. In the meantime, the revolutionary party—although in a minority in the various Italian states—being assured of the support and favour of the French troops already retained in the peninsula, commenced a bold agitation which promoted fierce contentions. A riot broke out in Rome, during which the French embassy was attacked. The Directory made it a pretext for despatching thither an army which entered Rome, without opposition, on the 15th of February, 1798. The fall of the Pope's temporal power and the Roman Republic were proclaimed at the same time.[1]

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[1] Ugo Foscolo, then little more than twenty years of age, forcibly expresses in the *Ultime Lettere Di Jacopo Ortis* the bitter grief felt by Italian patriots at this bartering of Venice to Austria.

Shortly afterwards, King Ferdinand of Naples, inspired by the great victory gained by the English admiral, Nelson, over the French fleet at the battle of the Nile, believed that the hour had come for declaring war on France and set out for Rome with an army, in order to re-establish the temporal supremacy of the Pontiff. The French, of whom there were only a few in Rome, retired, and the Neapolitans took possession of the city on the 27th of November, 1798. But a few days afterwards, the French general, Championnet, having concentrated his forces, assumed the offensive and obliged the King of Naples, in consequence, to beat a rapid retreat. On arriving in his capital, Ferdinand only remained long enough to invest General Pignatelli with authority and then promptly embarked for Sicily. The French now made their way into the country and, with the

[1] Pius VI., driven from Rome, took refuge in Tuscany; having been arrested later, by French orders, he was conducted to Valence, in France, where he died, 29th of August, 1799.

help of some of the middle-class Neapolitans, occupied the capital itself, in spite of the vigorous resistance maintained by the lower orders (January 22, 1799). It was then that the Parthenopæan Republic —so-called from the ancient name of the city—was proclaimed at Naples.

The Piedmontese king also, Charles Emmanuel IV.—who had succeeded his father Victor Amadeus III. in 1796—had seen the French, under one pretext or another, install themselves in Piedmont and had been forced to withdraw to Sardinia.

On hearing that Austria, allied with England and Russia, purposed entering Italy anew, the French drove the Hapsburgh-Lorraine dynasty out of Tuscany and took possession of the latter province. Thus, in March, 1799, the whole of the Italian peninsula, with the exception of the duchy of Parma and Piacenza—still ruled by its own duke—and Venice now held by Austria—was in their power.

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But just then the Austro-Russian army, commanded by Suvaroff, appeared on Italian soil and gained notable victories in Upper Italy over the French. The latter had to recall their troops scattered in the rest of the peninsula, but these were also discomfited and compelled to retreat into Liguria. It was easy enough to overthrow the republican governments established by the French, considering their unstable bases in the Italian provinces, and many of the citizens, who had compromised themselves by supporting the new ideas, were forced to emigrate.

Meantime the members of the revolutionary party in Naples tried to defend themselves against the Bourbon troops, commanded by Cardinal Ruffo, but had to capitulate on the 20th of June, 1799. They had been promised a full amnesty, but the King and Queen had no intention of respecting the terms of this capitulation and wreaked cruel vengeance on the heads of the republican movement, who submitted most heroically to their fate; among the illustrious men who were sent to the scaffold by the Bourbon government, were the physician, Domenico Cirillo, the eminent lawyers Mario Pagano and Francesco Conforti, and Admiral Francesco Caracciolo.

Horatio Nelson likewise played a part in these events at Naples.[1] The English admiral arrived in the harbour with a fleet, when the armistice had already been concluded; he knew that King Ferdinand and Queen Caroline did not intend that any concessions should be granted to the rebels, therefore, when he saw the white flag floating from the fortress, he signalled his protest, then made known to Ruffo the King's intention. But the Cardinal declared that the capitulation ought to be respected. In such a case, indeed, the judgment given naturally depended on the royal decision, but at that time, the King was in Sicily. Nelson, with scanty diplomatic foresight, at the instigation, perhaps, of the English ambassador, Hamilton, tried to delay the carrying out of the capitulation, as far as its terms were

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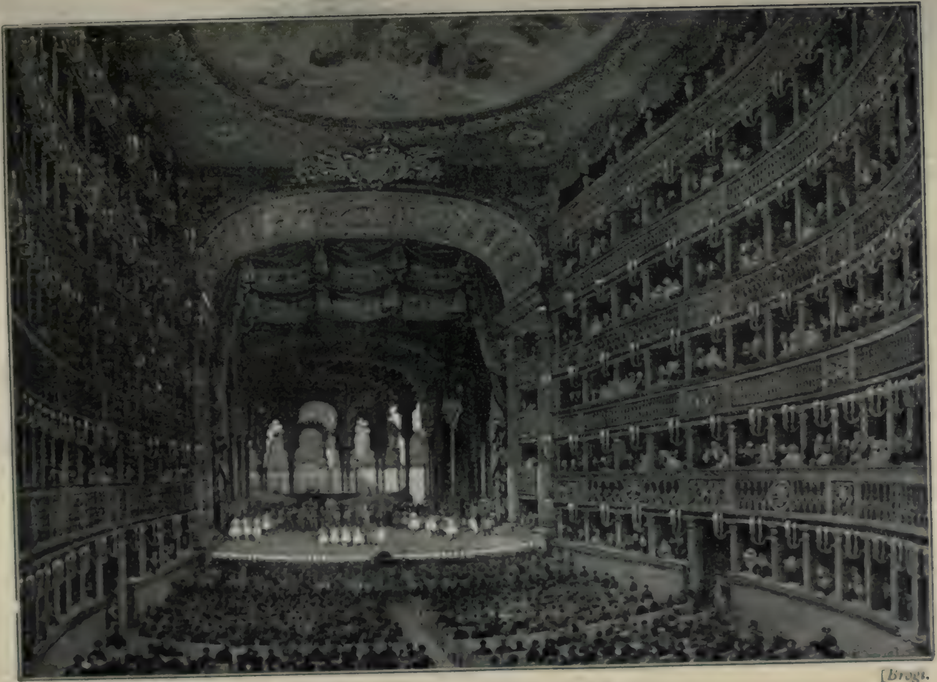
[1] Nelson's conduct at this juncture has given ground for very severe censure. Professor Villari, in an article recently published in the *Nuova Antologia* of the 16th of February, 1899, there sums up the results of investigations on the subject.



From a photograph by] [Brogi.

THEATRE OF SAN CARLO, NAPLES.

Built in 1737.

favourable to the rebels and, when strict orders came from Palermo to annul such terms, he caused the republican chiefs to be imprisoned. It can be asserted, in fact, that on this occasion, he forgot he was a representative of England and instead of exercising that moderation worthy of his great nation, he made himself the instrument of Bourbon vengeance. The reason for his conduct is to be found in his blind infatuation for Lady Hamilton who had become the tool of the cruel Queen Caroline.

Everywhere re-action was triumphing. The old order of things was restored: armed bands of peasants scoured the country and perpetrated terrible acts of savagery against the revolutionists, many of whom repaired to France, in the hope of a successful revenge.

It was amongst these exiles from all parts of the peninsula, that the idea of Italian nationality worked most potently, and the Piedmontese, Carlo Botta—to whom, later, belonged the credit of largely diffusing it by his histories—was the first to sign a petition to the Council of Five Hundred inviting France to unify Italy. "Rome"—thus ended the document—"was never so illustrious as when she disposed of territories where the African encamped: France can never be greater than in declaring Italy to be free and independent when she is held captive by foreign troops." This petition was signed by emigrants from Piedmont, Lombardy, Venetia, Emilia, Romagna and Naples, demonstrating thereby that a common exile only served to merge their aspirations in one grand ideal: that of a free Italy!

III

THE NAPOLEONIC RÉGIME

THE beginning of the year 1800 saw the Austrians virtual masters of Italy: the French army, after having prolonged the campaign to the utmost of its power, was driven into Liguria and compelled to retire to Genoa which had just been blockaded by sea, by the English admiral, Keith.

Napoleon Bonaparte—who by the *coup d'état* of the 18th *Brumaire* had made himself master of affairs in France by assuming the title of First Consul—already meditated the re-conquest of Italy, and whilst he ordered General Massena, commanding the French force shut up in Genoa, to maintain a stout resistance, he conceived the bold design of leading another army across the Alps. To this end in May, 1800, he secretly concentrated troops in the neighbourhood of Geneva; then he proceeded to direct their operations in person and led his men to the pass of the great St. Bernard. The infantry found the march easy enough, but it was another matter for the cavalry; each man had to dismount and lead his horse—in spite of which precaution some of the soldiers and their beasts fell over precipices by the way. The artillery pieces had to be dismounted, transported on hand barrows or on mules; the heaviest cannons were placed in trunks of trees, hollowed out for the purpose, and dragged along by ropes. When, after this wearisome climb, the French arrived at the hospice, at the summit of the pass, its inmates, the monks of St. Bernard, whom Bonaparte had previously furnished with money to provide victuals, distributed bread, cheese and wine to each soldier; afterwards each company began the descent which, although apparently less toilsome than the ascent, was really fraught with yet greater dangers.

Having surmounted all obstacles, Napoleon's forces at length reached the valley of Aosta where, advancing into the plain, they menaced the rear of the Austrian army. The latter which had just succeeded in occupying Genoa—only surrendered by Massena under pressure of starvation, after a most valiant resistance—had to beat a hasty retreat to Lombardy, to prevent communication being cut off with Austria.

A sanguinary battle took place on the 14th of June 1800, at Marengo near Alessandria, wherein the French would have been overpowered, had not General Desaix, who had been sent by Bonaparte in command of a wing of the army to reconnoitre in the direction of Novi, judged it expedient on hearing the roar of cannon, to turn back to his chief's assistance. Desaix is reported to have said: "The battle is lost, but it is only just three o'clock, there is still time to win another." Napoleon initiated the attack: Desaix was killed, but the day ended with a decisive victory for the French.

The Austrians were now obliged to abandon all their conquests and to confirm the agreement made at Campo Formio. Napoleon re-established the Cisalpine and Ligurian republics, and France took possession of Piedmont. Other important changes took place: Parma and Piacenza were soon after ceded to France, and the Bourbon family to whom that duchy belonged, obtained instead Tuscany which was wrested from the house of Lorraine and constituted into a 'Kingdom of Etruria.'

At the end of 1801, Napoleon convoked four hundred and fifty-two notables of the Cisalpine Republic at Lyons, with the intention of framing the new constitution which in essence resembled the one then possessed by France. The legislative power was divided into four assemblies and vested in a consulate, tribunate, senate and legislative body (*Consulta*, *Censura*, *Consiglio* and *Corpo Legislativo*) whilst the executive power was placed in the hands of a president, elected for ten years, who possessed the rights of initiating legislation and of nominating functionaries. The polity so formed was henceforth to be known as the 'Italian Republic.' Napoleon Bonaparte was elected as president and he, in his turn, constituted Count Francesco Melzi vice-president. The evils of the military occupation of the preceding years having been diminished, this new Republic, protected by the great principles of liberty and civil equality, was enabled to enjoy genuine prosperity: not only had the very name of 'Italian' a fascination for those it governed, but the absence of the president made its independence appear all the more real, whilst Melzi, by his sagacious rule, was well qualified to win the sympathies of the people.

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When the First Consul assumed in 1804 the title of Emperor of the French, it seemed incongruous that he should continue to be president of a republic; consequently, the crown of the kingdom of Italy was offered him—a crown which he placed on his own head at Milan, the 26th of May, 1805, with the famous words: "God gave it me—woe to him who touches it!" He nominated as viceroy, his step-son, Eugène Beauharnais, then only four-and-twenty years of age, but a young man of amiable and gentle disposition. The latter was anxious to show his gratitude towards the Emperor by a ready obedience; thus it was that in deference to his chief's orders, he discontinued the convocation of the legislative body at the first opposition he encountered therefrom on the question of some proposed laws. The kingdom of Italy thus fell at last under the yoke of this so-called enlightened despotism.

Moreover, whilst Napoleon was at Milan, the magistrates of the Ligurian Republic had suggested an amalgamation of their government with the French Empire; the Emperor therefore betook himself to Genoa and formed this ancient state into three French departments.

In the same year, at Presburg, on the 26th of December, 1805, after the great victory of Austerlitz, Napoleon imposed a peace treaty on Austria and compelled the latter to forego her claim to Venice which thus became united to the kingdom of Italy, to the great joy of the Italians who flattered themselves that this step forwarded the unification of the entire peninsula.

Whilst this campaign had been in progress, the Neapolitan Court had joined in the coalition formed by England, Austria and Russia against France. Napoleon made this a pretext for sending an army to conquer Naples, called upon his soldiers to make an end of a *régime* which had "neither faith, honour nor good sense," and thenceforth proudly announced that the Neapolitan dynasty was "at an end." It was indeed an easily assured victory: the Bourbon family at once took refuge in Sicily, and Joseph Bonaparte, the brother of Napoleon, was proclaimed King of Naples on the 30th of March, 1806.

The year after, Napoleon inflicted another blow on the Bourbons by taking Tuscany from them and uniting it to the French empire.

The Emperor now caused his troops to occupy the sea-coast of the Papal States, and when the Pontiff protested and so made common cause with the enemies of France, Napoleon declared the temporal power of the Pope to be at an end (1809), united Rome and its adjoining territory to the French empire and amalgamated the Marches with the kingdom of Italy.[1] In his despatch to the French Senate, concerning necessary legislation after the above-mentioned annexation, the Emperor wrote as follows: "The decree that we submit to you will accomplish one of the most important political events of the great times in which we live. May the words: 'policy of the Roman court' be for ever abolished in European diplomacy; may the narrow egoism of a prince who possesses a country without army, ports without ships, power without any means of enforcing it and neutrality without guarantee, disappear in the general prosperity of the Italian peninsula!"

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[1] Pius VII., having been made prisoner, was conducted to Savona and ultimately to Fontainebleau.

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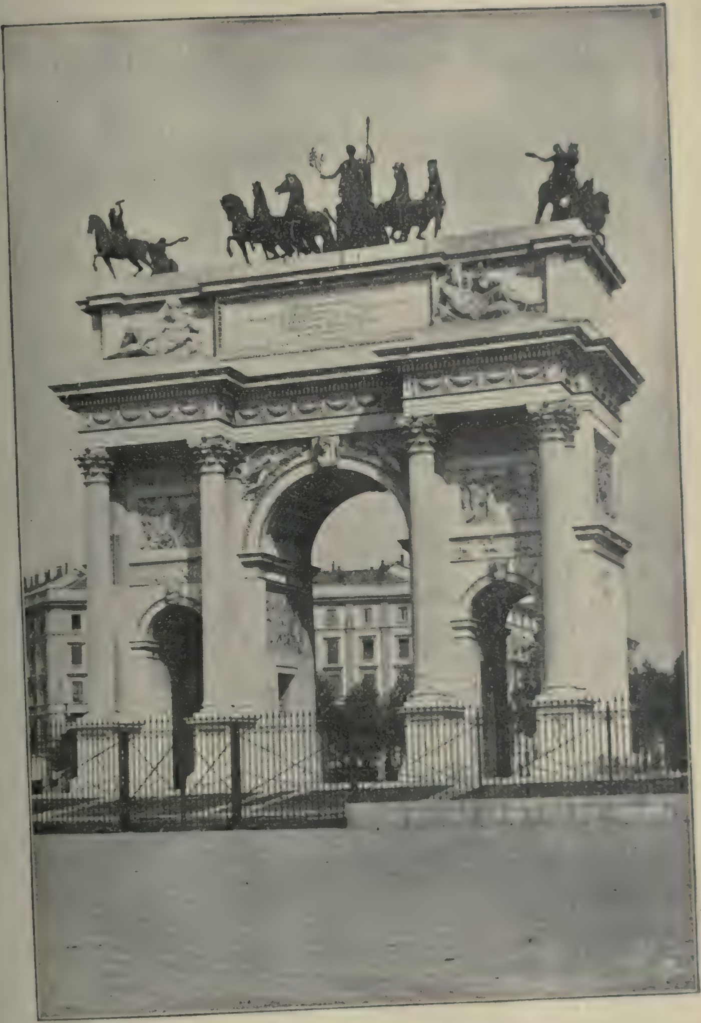
At this epoch, the whole of the Italian peninsula depended, either directly or indirectly, on Napoleon. Piedmont, Liguria, Parma, Piacenza, Tuscany and Rome—that is to say, nearly a third of the country—had been annexed to the French empire. Although Piedmont, and also Liguria, by their proximity to, and affinity with France, had easily adapted themselves to French laws and institutions, it was far otherwise with those provinces which, unaccustomed to warlike exercises, only submitted with great discontent to the military conscription imposed on them by the conqueror.

Everywhere, however, was visible a great intellectual, social and material transformation. This was most of all evident in the so-called 'kingdom of Italy,' which comprised Lombardy, Venetia, Reggio, Modena, Romagna and the Marches, with a population of nearly seven million inhabitants. New roads were opened up, large canals constructed, splendid monuments erected, agriculture encouraged, and industry



ARCO DELLA PACE, MILAN.

Begun in 1804.

and commerce were developed, while art and learning were promoted in a thousand ways, and an excellent army was organised which won a new respect for the Italian name. "Of all the periods of servitude," writes the illustrious contemporary historian, Cesare Balbo, "not one was as happy, as active, perhaps as useful, none were nearly so great and glorious as this epoch. Less shame was there in serving, with half Europe, a man so powerful and illustrious—an Italian, moreover, by birth and race—in serving him, too, by actively furthering his mighty and incessantly increasing projects whose unforeseen results it might justly be hoped would tend to some great scheme of national reunion or liberation—less shame, I maintain, was there in such service, than in the languid and isolated slavery that had formerly been Italy's in the midst of independence, liberty and universal activity. . . . There was not actual independence, it is true, but there were at least the forms of it in a great Italian centre; there was not a well-guaranteed constitutional liberty, though a legal one existed, but there was that equality which indemnified so many, rightly or wrongly, for the absence of freedom. Certain it is, that from this time, the name of Italy was pronounced with increased love and honour."

French influence in the kingdom of Naples was minimised by the actual conditions of the country which differed so greatly from that of France: this may be accounted for, too, by the fact that the new *régime* was of shorter duration there and had, besides, to give its attention to defending itself not only against the attempts which the Bourbons—still refugees in Sicily and backed up by England—made to recover their lost states, but also against the bands of brigands which infested Calabria. Joseph Bonaparte had no sooner begun to find his level in the new kingdom, than Napoleon, who transferred kings from one throne to another as if they had been so many *employés*, promoted him to the crown of Spain, sending his own brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, to Naples in Joseph's stead (1808). The new ruler succeeded in winning much popularity through his personal qualities, but he was more of a soldier than an administrator. At any rate, if he could not change the condition of the country, he introduced therein elements of a new life.

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The Bourbon court had been strengthened in Sicily by the support of England, who had made of that island a centre for her warlike operations against the French. Notwithstanding, Queen Caroline resented English protection; she was, moreover, not popular with the Sicilians, either on account of the favour she showed to the Neapolitan emigrants or through the heavy expenses that the Court had incurred in carrying on the war. This opposition made itself felt in parliament and even the barons themselves refused to grant the required subsidies. The Court retaliated by ignoring the parliament, promulgating arbitrary decrees of taxation and causing five of the most recalcitrant nobles of the opposition to be arrested. But the English ambassador, Lord

William Bentinck, seeing that such a procedure would place the island at the mercy of the French invaders, brought pressure to bear upon the Bourbon government, which resulted in the immediate liberation of the five barons ; nay, he declared to the Queen that a constitution must be granted, uttering the famous formula : "*Madame, constitution ou révolution.*" The Palermo court, thus coerced by English pressure, took refuge in a compromise ; King Ferdinand, under the pretext of illness, made over the conduct of affairs to his son, Francis, conferring upon him the title of Vicar-General of the kingdom, January 16, 1812, and withdrew to his country retreat at Ficuzza.

The newly-ordained Prince-Vicar forthwith convoked parliament which immediately decreed a constitution—drawn up on the English model, with an Upper and a Lower House—and abolished feudal rights. Queen Caroline who was always setting on foot fresh machinations to oppose these new political tendencies and to shake off English interference, was obliged to leave Sicily in 1813 and return to Vienna where she died in September, 1814.

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In the meantime, the fortunes of Napoleon were rapidly on the wane and he now saw himself forsaken by all his supporters. He had always exacted blind obedience, and this pronounced absolutism had alienated the devotion of his subjects. Many Italians, who were fully alive to the regenerating influences infused by the new *régime* into all branches of their social life, felt, none the less bitterly, the galling yoke of the oppressor, and showed it even in their literary taste, by applauding the burning and indignant verses of Ugo Foscolo rather than the adulatory effusions of Vincenzo Monti. The disastrous Russian campaign had provoked a genuine reaction of hatred against the man who, to glut his own ambition, had sacrificed the lives of so many thousands of his soldiers. The Powers in league against the French Emperor helped to foment this feeling and, by giving a vague encouragement to the aspirations of Italian independence, easily succeeded in winning over to their side a great part of the population.

Austria now offered active menace to the kingdom of Italy; the Viceroy, Eugène, tried to defend himself, but was compelled to fall back upon the banks of the Adige. At the same time, Joachim Murat, who, to keep his throne intact, had engaged in secret treaties with Austria, advanced with an army from Naples in the direction of Upper Italy, without Eugène knowing whether he came as a friend or an enemy: the Viceroy himself was then compelled to retreat to the Mincio.

Meanwhile, the English occupied Leghorn, afterwards Genoa. Then it was that Italy received the news of the capitulation of Paris to the allied troops and of the abdication of Napoleon. Eugène, however, hoped to be able to keep Lombardy for himself and, to this end, suspended hostilities with a view to appeasing the Powers. But the greater part of the Milanese population, weary of French rule, were unfriendly to his design; some hoped to institute a national government, others desired the return of the Austrians; therefore, when the senate of the kingdom, assembled at Milan, wished to send a deputation to the Powers to demonstrate their willingness to favour Eugène, an insurrection broke out in the city and Count Prina, minister of finance, was murdered by the mob, April 20, 1814. The Viceroy, out of pique, surrendered the fortress of Mantua to the Austrians and sought the protection of his father-in-law in Bavaria. A few days afterwards, the Austrians entered Milan, and thus fell that kingdom of Italy which had boasted of so many illustrious citizens in art, science and public life, and had formed the great centre of Italian life in that momentous period of history.

The former governments were now reinstated: Pius VII. who had already been liberated for some time past, re-entered Rome; the Grand Duke, Ferdinand III., took possession again of Tuscany; the duchies of Parma and Modena were re-established, whilst Victor Emmanuel I. of Savoy—who, in 1802, had succeeded his brother, Charles Emmanuel IV., in Sardinia—returned to Turin. Joachim Murat alone still preserved his kingdom of Naples.

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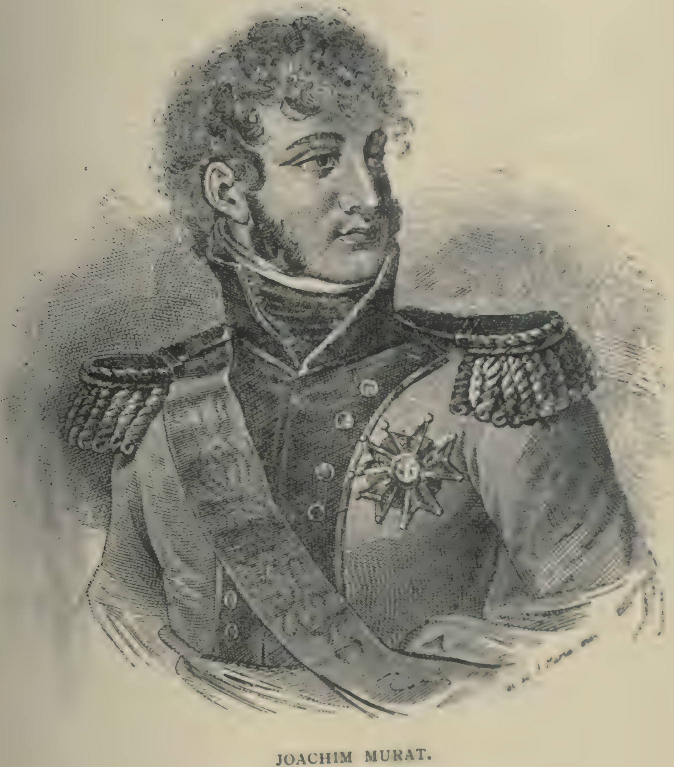
Napoleon had chosen as a place of exile the island of Elba, but it was generally felt to be impossible that a man, who had led so many enterprises and won so many battles, should willingly condemn himself to inertia. There were even Italians who dreamed of making it worth his while to reconstitute their country's unity and on May 19, 1814, a message was sent to the exile from Turin, imploring the help of his name and sword and offering him, in exchange, the crown of Italy. Napoleon received the invitation graciously, but Paris, rather than Rome, was the goal at which he aimed. On the 26th of February, 1815, he left the island of Elba with a thousand soldiers and sailed for ~~France, with the intention~~ of reconquering ~~the Empire. He disembarked~~ in the Gulf of Jouan on ~~the 1st of March and in~~ twenty days, supported by the army — always enthusiastically devoted to its chief—repossessed himself of the throne and entered Paris amid the rejoicings of the people, to enjoy a brilliant but short-lived triumph of a hundred days.

The sovereigns of Europe, assembled in the spring of that year at the Congress of Vienna, now decided to put an end for good and all to the power of Napoleon; they accordingly proclaimed him "the enemy and disturber of the peace of the world," declared him to be "without the pale of civil and social relations," and at the same time, sent orders to their armies to march against France. On the 18th of June, 1815, on the plains of Waterloo, was fought the memorable battle which crowns the end of this epoch, so full of wars and discords; on that day, the heroes of Marengo, Austerlitz, Jena and Wagram were completely routed by the English veterans of Wellington and the Prussian grenadiers of Blücher. The allied armies were thus enabled to march on Paris and establish Louis XVIII. on the French throne. Napoleon, having lost all hope, surrendered to the English, by whom he was banished to the island of St. Helena.

The very day that the uncrowned Emperor arrived in sight of the rock where he was to drag out his last years, his brother-in-law, Joachim Murat, after strange vicissitudes, was shot in Calabria. In 1814, by his treason towards Napoleon, the king of Naples had obtained permission from Austria to keep his states, but he soon had reason to doubt that such a concession would be long allowed and therefore had been reconciled to his brother-in-law, then in the island of Elba. When the Emperor embarked for France, Murat turned his arms against Austria, inviting the Italians to wage a war of independence. Very few, however, rallied to his standard; he advanced as far as Emilia, but hearing the Neapolitan coast was threatened by the English, beat a retreat. Routed by the Austrians near Macerata, he re-entered his own territories where the Bourbon party was again lifting its head. Desertions became daily more numerous in his army: at last he abdicated the throne on May 20, 1815, and the government of Ferdinand Bourbon was restored in the kingdom of Naples. Joachim Murat now repaired to France, though he dared not face Napoleon. After Waterloo, he thought of retiring to Corsica, the native country of so many of his followers. He meditated the reconquest of Naples from that island, and on the 28th of September, weighed anchor, with two hundred and fifty adherents, at Ajaccio, but a storm dispersed his little fleet. The vessel in which Joachim sailed arrived at Pizzo in Calabria, where he attempted, but



JOACHIM MURAT.

vainly, to excite a reaction in his own favour. Having been made prisoner a few days afterwards, in pursuance of orders sent from Naples, he was judged by a court-martial, condemned to death, and shot on the 13th of October, 1815, at the age of forty-eight.

IV

THE RESTORATION: OLD GOVERNMENTS AND NEW PEOPLES

It was in the midst of the brilliant *fêtes* and splendours of the Congress of Vienna—in which the prime minister of Austria, Prince Metternich, then in the zenith of his career, had shone pre-eminent among his peers—that the re-adjustment of Italy was effected. The diplomatists in question had declared that such a re-adjustment ought to be based on the legitimist principle, that is to say that the former governments which the revolution had overthrown, ought to be restored. Such a maxim was applied to all Italy with the exception of the republics; consequently, Venice, Genoa and Lucca had no place in the new states. Venetia with Lombardy reverted to Austria, Genoa was annexed to the dominions of Savoy, whilst Lucca was assigned to the Bourbon dynasty of Parma, so long as this dukedom should be governed by Marie Louise—daughter of the Emperor Francis of Austria, and wife of Napoleon I. —who was to keep it during her lifetime. For the rest, the political conditions of 1789 were restored, although by this arrangement the influence of Austria was augmented and she entered into possession of the richest, best fortified and — strategically — most valuable provinces in Italy; hence she could easily make her superior power felt throughout the peninsula, especially as members of the Austrian royal family reigned in Parma, Modena and Tuscany. Austrian influence, therefore, was substituted for French, and all its efforts were promptly devoted to cancelling every trace of revolution.

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For the better understanding of Italian life from 1815 to 1820, let us attentively consider each state individually, beginning with Piedmont. On the 20th of May, 1814, Turin, the ancient Piedmontese capital, after sixteen years of the French *régime*, welcomed back its Savoy rulers with true and unaffected enthusiasm. Massimo D'Azeglio, who was then sixteen years old and a member of the civil guard that was drawn up for the royal reception, describes his impressions in his *Ricordi:* "I found myself on parade in the Piazza Costello and very well recollect the group presented by the King and his staff. Dressed in the old-fashioned style, with powder, queue and Frederic II. hats, they must have looked quaint figures enough, but to me, as to all there, they appeared most magnificent and *comme il faut.* The oft-repeated cries of welcome that acclaimed this good prince must have assured him, beyond all possibility of doubt, of the affection and sympathy of his faithful Turinese." Thus did Piedmont joyously hail the end of the foreign yoke and receive King Victor Emmanuel I., the representative of that house which had always so carefully guarded the country's honour.

But discontent followed hard on such joy. The King and his courtiers imagined that, during the last twenty years, the good Piedmontese had, like themselves, been asleep, figuratively speaking, whilst in reality this space of time had meant for the people a century of progress. Victor Emmanuel said he regarded all that had happened in his absence as a "long dream," and thought he gave an ample proof of his generosity by drawing, as he said, a veil over the past. On his return to Piedmont, an old courtier had handed him the *Palmaverde* almanack for 1798, which contained the list of state *employés*. In the royal mania for returning to the old order, these officials were all replaced in their posts, without any one troubling to find out whether some of them might not have died in the interval. The same system was likewise applied to the army and involved the recall of many men who had not held commissions for years. Those who had served under Napoleon, if they wished to be re-admitted, had to lose one grade, whilst quite raw youths of aristocratic families were promoted to fill up the void thus created amongst the officers. D'Azeglio, thus raised to the rank of lieutenant, wrote in after times: "Ours was a curious method of forming a regiment! Those in command who had received their commissions in bygone years, had forgotten everything; we junior officers had, as yet, learnt nothing, whilst our subordinates, the scouts and underlings—soldiers who had been trained in the first military school of the world and had their duties at their fingers' ends—laughed at us in their sleeves in our presence and openly in our absence."

Thus the Piedmontese government, very far from making concessions to progress, aimed at a slavish reconstruction of the past that was to affect both men and things. At one stroke, Piedmont was transplanted back into the middle of the eighteenth century and all the privileges of the nobility and clergy were restored. This return to the ancient *régime* displeased many people, more especially the educated classes of the country, who, unable to avail themselves of any official remedy, leagued themselves together in secret societies.

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Factions were also multiplying in the Lombardo-Venetian provinces where the disappearance of the kingdom of Italy had not caused the memories of that glorious epoch to be forgotten. Austria had, it is true, always increased the material welfare of the subject provinces, but this was no longer enough. Although before the French revolution, the people of Lombardy had gladly approved the government of Maria Theresa and Joseph II., they failed to do so after the formation of a kingdom of Italy had once awakened the idea of nationality in men's minds. A serious change had been wrought in the conscience of the masses, and Federico Confalonieri could justly say: "We can no longer be the people of twenty years ago unless we renounce habits and sentiments already deeply-rooted in a nation full of energy, genius and passions, which has acquired during this time wider political experience, deeper patriotism and increased military aptitude." In spite of all this, the Austrian Emperor had declared to Venetia and Lombardy: "You belong to me by right of conquest and ought to forget you are Italian"—a foolish dictum, which only served the better to remind the vanquished that they were Italians and that they must prove themselves worthy of the name. An opposition to the government, therefore, now began to show itself among the most cultured and intelligent classes; secret societies were formed, and to cope with them, a terrible police system was organised, which ever developed its menacing proportions and ultimately became the single prop of Austrian dominion in Italy.

Whilst the Vienna cabinet aimed at keeping these provinces enslaved by means of an armed surveillance, some cultivated and hard-working citizens of Milan proposed to spread liberal ideas among the people and to diffuse a knowledge of the conquests of modern thought. To this end—having been unsuccessful in their request for permission to open popular schools—they started a paper, *Il Conciliatore*, devoted to literary and social as well as to political ends. Among its contributors were Confalonieri, G. D. Romagnosi, Silvio Pellico, Giovanni Rasori, Filippo Ugoni, Giovanni Berchet and many others whom exile and martyrdom were to render illustrious in the annals of Italian independence. Austria was not slow to suspect the existence of this liberal propaganda; in October, 1819, the *Conciliatore* was suppressed, and in the October of the following year, Pellico, Gioia, Romagnosi, Maroncelli and Arrivabene were arrested and a long series of political prosecutions was set on foot.

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Austria domineered likewise in the duchy of Parma and Piacenza. On the fall of Napoleon, Francis of Austria, desiring a suitable possession for his daughter, Marie Louise, wife of the fallen Emperor, had assigned to her Parma and Piacenza. Although the ex-empress enjoyed the honours accruing to her position, the real ruling power was Austria, represented by a garrison at Piacenza. Thus, whilst the Austrian marshal, Neipperg, was endeavouring to make Marie Louise forget her exiled consort at St. Helena, the cabinet of Vienna was dictating laws to the province and hindering the development of every liberal and Italian tendency. Nor did things alter when the Duchess changed her lovers.

Worse still was the condition of affairs in the neighbouring dukedom of Modena and Reggio, which had been made over to Francis IV., Archduke of Austria, son of Marie Beatrice, the last representative of the house of Este. He was both clever and ambitious, but so imbued with despotic notions and contempt for his fellow men, that he was quite unscrupulous in the means he pursued to gain his end; moreover, he was in league with the Jesuits and was remorseless in his pursuit of the leaders of political innovations.

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A happier state of things prevailed in the pleasant province of Tuscany. There, even before the French revolution, the house of Lorraine had introduced many reforms; it had abolished the Inquisition, torture, the death penalty, and had ameliorated every phase of civic life. When the long-hoped-for return of the Grand Duke, Ferdinand III., to his duchy, took place in 1815, he immediately restored the lenient rule of his predecessors—a rule that seemed fitly to correspond with the placid temperament of the inhabitants of that particular region of Italy. A worthy representative of such a government was the prime minister, Count Fossombroni, an easy-going man who had such confidence in time and chance that he used to say: *Il mondo va da sè* ("The world goes by itself"). Under such a *régime*, the Tuscan people grew enfeebled and lethargic, although the tolerant sway they enjoyed seemed like genuine liberty, in comparison with the absolutism of the other Italian states.

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The two worst administrations in Italy were those of the States of the Church and the kingdom of Naples. In the former, the Pope, on resuming his temporal power, had re-established a truly mediæval government wherein the Inquisition and the order of the Jesuits were both revived. French legislation was abolished and the old obscure and confused laws were restored in its stead. The complete exclusion of the laity from offices in the state was assumed as the invariable basis of such a *régime* as was now instituted. Pius VII. and Cardinal Consalvi, his minister, were, it is true, full of good intentions, but they were irresistibly influenced by the reactionary *milieu* in which they lived.

By the death of Joachim Murat, Ferdinand Bourbon had felt his position assured on his re-acquired throne of Naples and, like the other princes of the peninsula, he also cherished hopes of rebuilding the fabric of the past. Everything favourable to the royal prerogative in the French code was not only preserved at Naples, but was likewise applied to Sicily; all the rest was abolished. The constitution granted to Sicily in 1812 was quickly consigned to oblivion; the parliament was no longer convoked, and the Bourbon monarch assumed the title of 'Ferdinand I., King of the Two Sicilies,' abandoning the titles of 'Ferdinand IV. of Naples' and 'Ferdinand III. of Sicily,' in use up till that time.[1] It was no mere alteration of name; this re-union of the two crowns into one kingdom signified the destruction of Sicilian independence and completely discounted any difference of treatment of the countries on either side of the Faro.

By reason of its geographical position, the kingdom of the Two Sicilies might have been considered as properly independent of the Austrian pretensions that were advanced elsewhere in Italy, all the more so, since England was secretly seeking to counterbalance the power of Austria. Notwithstanding, the King of Naples remained the humble servant of the Vienna cabinet.

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[1] To understand this newly adopted title we must revert to the revolution of 'the Vespers' (1282), which separated Sicily from Naples; in spite of this, however, the Angevin rulers of the latter kingdom had still wished to incorporate in their title the idea of Sicilian sovereignty. When, later (1442), Alfonso of Arragon re-united both kingdoms, the term 'Two Sicilies' came officially into use.

⁂

It was Austria's aim to keep a strict watch over Italy, and make the rebel beauty resume her interrupted slumber. In this work, however, she was not alone, but was able to count on the support of Russia and Prussia with whom she had organised the so-called Holy Alliance. Although this agreement between the three sovereign Powers concluded with high-sounding words of peace and justice and was cloaked under the guise of religion, it was in reality a league against the so-hated liberalism. The populations who had lived for five and twenty years under the influence of French revolutionary ideas were necessarily eager for innovations, and it was against such aspirations as these that the Holy Alliance was directed.

It was desired that men's minds should lie in the same dormant quiescence as they had done before the revolution, as if indeed it had been possible to stifle human thought. But, in spite of reactionary efforts, the old world was bursting its swaddling-bands and even in its outward life, signs of such a struggle were already manifest. All was changed in modes of thought, manners and customs ; differences between citizens were disappearing ; the fusion of the classes was perceptible even in the fashion of dress. The abolition of privileges proclaimed by the Napoleonic code and other liberal ideas which had made strides during its *régime*, had been the means of planting the germ of revolution in the heart of Italy, and henceforth the seed was to grow and prosper there.

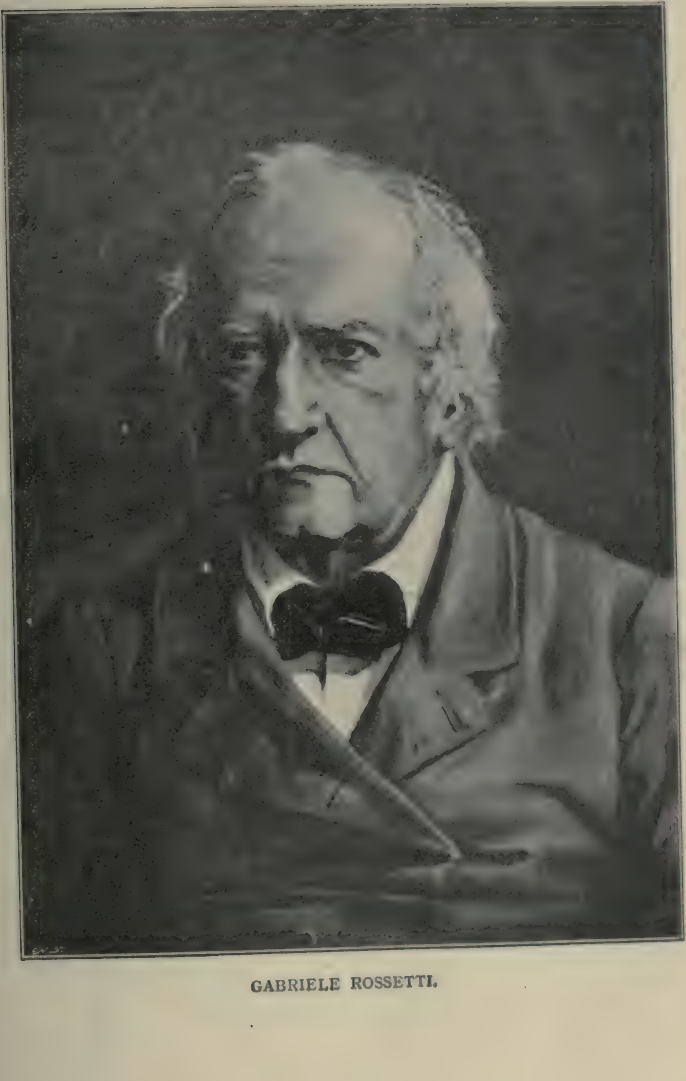
V

REVOLUTIONARY BEGINNINGS

THE secret society most widely diffused in Italy was that of the *Carbonari*. It had originated in the Neapolitan States in the first years of the century and had struck root there during the French dominion to such an extent, that it had even intimidated Joachim Murat himself. On the return of the Bourbons, Carbonarism spread throughout the whole kingdom—and indeed beyond it—uniting all the disaffected in a common grievance. Malcontents were very numerous in the army which resented the neglect of the Bourbon government: consequently the *Carbonari* found many adherents in its ranks. And further to inflame men's minds, there now came the news of revolution triumphant in Spain, a country which was associated with Naples by many memories and affinities. Then it was that the instigators of the Italian movement decided to act.

On the 2nd of July, 1820, two sub-lieutenants, Morelli and Silvati, with one hundred and twenty-seven men, including sergeants and mounted soldiers, proceeded from the Nola quarter, flaunting the black, red and blue tricoloured banner of the *Carbonari* to the cry of, "For God, King, and Constitution." From Nola, the insurgents, accompanied by the priest, Menichini, as well as other members of the league, made their way to Avellino where the governor, after some hesitation, joined their ranks; thence they moved towards the capital, whilst several provinces declared themselves in favour of the insurrectionary movement. Meanwhile, deliberation was the only resource of the terrified and vacillating ministers and this very irresolution furnished the constitutionalists with their opportunity. On the night of the 5–6th of July, General Guglielmo Pepe, dreading arrest on account of his liberal opinions, left Naples and placed himself at the head of the insurgents.

King Ferdinand then found himself compelled to promise a constitution but, under pretence of illness, entrusted his son, Francis—with the title of Vicar—with the management of affairs. The farce played out in Sicily in 1812 was then re-enacted, but the Neapolitan population who distrusted the word of a Bourbon, insisted on the constitution being then and there conceded, and since the Spanish one was already drawn up—to which King Ferdinand, as *Infante* of Spain, had been obliged to take a solemn oath of allegiance—they exacted its adoption and demanded that not only the Vicar, but that the King himself, should swear to it. Thus it was that the aged Ferdinand was seen with his hand on the Gospels, invoking the wrath of heaven should he ever be tempted to break his oath.



GABRIELE ROSSETTI.

It was at this time that the poet, Gabriele Rossetti (born at Vasto in the Abruzzi in 1783, died in London, 1854), hailed the dawn of Neapolitan liberty in a poem which became very popular:—

"Sei pur bella cogli astri sul crine
  Che scintillan quai vivi zaffiri,
  È pur dolce quel fiato che spiri
  Porporina foriera del dì.
Col sorriso del pago desio
  Tu ci annunzi dal balzo vicino
  Che d'Italia nell' almo giardino
  Il servaggio per sempre finì."

(Thou art fair with the stars that are wreathing
  With sapphire-like brightness thy hair,
And fragrantly sweet is thy breathing,
  Of day thou'rt the harbinger fair!
And thou from thy rock smilst victorious,
  As the message to men thou dost send:
'In the garden of Italy glorious
  Is servitude aye at an end!')

Patriotism and intellectual activity alike awoke, and for some time it seemed as if Naples had been aroused from her long lethargy. All too soon, however, she encountered a serious misfortune in the separatist movement which had been set on foot in Sicily. Up till 1815, this island had enjoyed political privileges of its own and the ancient constitution which it had succeeded in keeping intact through so many reverses of administration, had been even more fully developed in 1812, through an agitation promoted by English influence.[1] But when the Bourbon court—compelled to retire to Sicily during the Napoleonic period—re-occupied Naples, it soon consigned the Sicilian constitution to oblivion. The island became a Neapolitan province and was duly exploited by Neapolitan officials, thus foiling the aspiration which had taken root in the Sicilian mind of re-possessing its ancient constitution and of separating from Naples. It was for this that, on receiving the news of the revolution on the mainland, the men of Palermo were fired to supplement the cry of "Long live the Constitution!" by that of "Independence for ever!" The Bourbon troops were expelled from the city and the example set by Palermo was soon followed by the province of Girgenti. The other five provinces of the island, however, remained loyal to the Neapolitan government. General Florestano Pepe was despatched to suppress the insurrection, but as he was inclined to grant too easy terms, General Pietro Colletta—afterwards to become famous for his *Storia del Reame di Napoli*—was sent to supplant him and succeeded, by the employment of more severity, in quelling the insurrection and in persuading the inhabitants to nominate deputies for the parliament which had already assembled at Naples.

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[1] See Chap. III.

Hardly had the danger from within been averted, than a much more serious one threatened the Neapolitan kingdom from without; she learned, to her consternation, that the sovereigns of Russia, Austria and Prussia, intimidated by the spread of constitutional ideas throughout Europe, now intended putting down by force her so-far successful revolution. It is to this external peril that Rossetti alludes in his verses:—

"Cittadini, posiamo sicuri
Sotto l'ombra dei lauri mietuti,
Ma coi pugni sui brandi temuti
Stiamo in guardia del patrio terren . . .
Che guardate, gelosi stranieri?
Non uscite dai vostri burroni,
Chè la stirpe dei prischi leoni
Più nel sonno languente non è.
Adorate le vostre catene;
Chi v'invidia cotanto tesoro?
Ma lasciate tranquilli coloro
Che disdegnan sentirsele al piè."

(O friends, let us rest in the shade
Of the laurels we reaped in the past,
But still in our hands hold we fast
The swords that our guards we have made . . .
Ye strangers, why jealous watch keep?
Approach not, approach not our place
And vex not the old lions' race—
The race that no longer doth sleep.
But yet hug your chains, if ye will,
No envy have we of your gain,
But leave those alone who disdain
To feel the old fetters gall still.)

King Ferdinand, on his part, secretly hastened to apprise the three monarchs that he desired nothing better than the re-establishment of despotism. Hence he received from them an invitation to attend the Congress which was shortly to be held at Leybach. But in accordance with a constitutional decree, the King could not leave the country without the consent of parliament; he therefore addressed a letter to the latter—a colossal proof of his perfidy—averring that he desired to go and defend the constitution before the sovereigns of the Holy Alliance and promising that if he were unsuccessful in justifying his people's cause in their hearing, he would return to Naples in time to defend it at the head of his army. Parliament granted him the necessary permission, and Ferdinand started for the Congress, leaving the government in the hands of his son, Francis.

At Leybach, the fate of Naples was decided. The Holy Alliance, after protesting that it was its prerogative and duty to guard the peace of Europe and that the condition of the Two Sicilies threatened the safety of existing governments, sent an Austrian army to Naples to re-establish order, and King Ferdinand wrote to his subjects, bidding them give his devoted allies a friendly reception. The Neapolitan parliament, though already disillusioned, declared that the King's decision, made under pressure from the allied rulers, was invalid, and accordingly resolved to act on the defensive. The Vicar, Francis, persisting in his deceitful *rôle*, for which indeed his father had given him the cue, posed as a most zealous supporter of the country's defence.

But there were no means of resisting an invasion. General Guglielmo Pepe, at the head of an army, which was alike good-for-nothing and undisciplined, attacked the Austrians at Rieti, March 7, 1821, but was defeated, whilst the disbanding of the best part of his troops spread discouragement throughout the province. Thus the Austrian forces were enabled to advance on Naples unopposed and not another blow was struck in the latter's defence. Many of the liberals fled or sought safety in concealment. On the 19th of March, twenty-six deputies met in the parliamentary chamber and signed an energetic protest, drawn up by the lawyer, Giuseppe Poerio, one of their most distinguished orators. It contained these words: "Chosen by electoral suffrage, we received our orders, in accordance with the form duly prescribed by the King. We have discharged our functions conformably to our power, to the Sovereign's oath and our own. But the presence of a foreign army in the kingdom obliges us to suspend the exercise of those functions. . . . Whilst proclaiming this unfortunate circumstance, we protest against the violation of the rights of the people . . . and we place the cause of the throne and of national independence in the hands of that God who directs the destinies of rulers and nations alike."

This was the last session of the Neapolitan parliament. On the 23rd of March, the Austrian troops entered Naples and re-established absolutism, whilst all opposition was quickly stifled in the provinces. Before re-entering his states, King Ferdinand went to hang a gold and silver sanctuary lamp in the Church of the Annunziata at Florence—in bittery mockery of expiation for his perjury.

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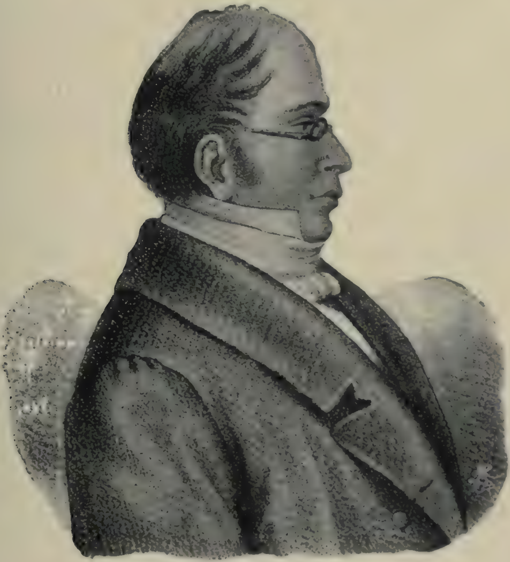
Whilst Bourbon false-dealing was destroying constitutional government in the Neapolitan and Sicilian kingdoms, a revolution broke out at the other end of the peninsula, in Piedmont. Even among the latter's level-headed and sober-minded people, Carbonarism had always found many adherents, especially in the ranks of the army. The Piedmontese *Carbonari* had set themselves the task of weaning Victor Emmanuel I. from the reactionary notions of his courtiers, by persuading him to grant a constitution and urging him to war against Austria ; in this they reckoned on the support of a prince of the blood-royal, in the person of Charles Albert of Carignan who, in view of the fact that Victor Emmanuel had no male issue and that his brother Charles Felix was childless, was heir-presumptive to the throne.

Charles Albert, educated in Paris, under Napoleonic influences, had returned in 1814 (at that time barely sixteen years old) to Piedmont. Inspired with ideas imbibed in the French capital, he had disapproved of the kingdom's return to an eighteenth-century *régime* and, being of an open and vivacious disposition, had not disguised his opinions. Hence he acquired a reputation for liberalism and, at the same time, great popularity in Turin ; he was even credited with being a member of the *Carbonari* and was certainly the intimate friend of such leaders of the revolutionary party among the *haute noblesse* of Piedmont, as the Marquis of San Marzano, Count Provana di Collegno, Count Moffa di Lisio and others. Highly impressionable by temperament, Charles Albert was easily swayed by the ardent enthusiasm of those surrounding him ; he also cherished the noble ambition of being the destined redeemer of Italy and perhaps in his relations with the *Carbonari*, let himself foster such an idea to an unreasonable extent.

The Piedmontese conspirators had planned their rising to take place at the moment when the Austrian army should be distracted by the Neapolitan constitutionalists; thus victory would have more fully favoured the liberals at either end of the peninsula, but they had counted, doubtless, on a stronger resistance being offered in Naples. On the 11th of March, 1821, before the news of the disaster at Rieti had reached Piedmont, the garrison of Alessandria raised the Italian tricolour, at the same time declaring for the Spanish constitution and war with Austria—an example followed two days later by the Turin garrison—all to the cry of "God save the King!"

However, Victor Emmanuel I., not wishing to break the promise he had given to Austria, of withholding a constitution from his subjects, and naturally averse, by reason of his kindly and gentle disposition, to shed the blood of his subjects in a fratricidal struggle, abdicated on the 13th of March, in favour of his brother, Charles Felix. The latter being then at the court of Modena, nominated Charles Albert as regent of the kingdom for the time being. Thus promoted, the young prince, urged by his friends and encouraged by the progress of the revolution, proclaimed the Spanish constitution at Turin. Before three days had passed, a decree arrived from Charles Felix, still at Modena, by which he declared the proclamation made without his consent to be null and void, ordered the re-establishment of an absolute government and insisted on Charles Albert quitting the capital.

The position in which the young Regent now found himself was indeed a painful one: the liberal party were desirous of dragging him into flat rebellion against Charles Felix, but he regarded the perpetration of such an act as treason against the chief representative of his family. Besides, all hope of success had now vanished; Austria, victorious in the kingdom of Naples, was even then mobilising another army on the Ticino against Piedmont, and active revolt would have meant the ruin of himself and his



SANTORRE DI SANTAROSA.

future, as well as of his friends. If Charles Albert had been unwise in letting himself be carried away by the revolutionary current, he was equally so in his method of extricating himself from its vortex. He left Turin furtively by night—an act which gave colour to the accusation of treason so freely hurled at him by the liberals. But the latter were deceived· the unhappy prince had sinned through vacillation, not through treason, and the sequel proved such to have been the case. Charles Felix refused to receive him at Modena: only at Florence did he find a welcome from his father-in-law, the Grand Duke of Tuscany.

Meanwhile, the sudden departure of the Regent had spread trouble and disorder among the revolutionary partisans. At this difficult juncture, Count Santorre Di Santarosa, one of the noblest figures of the Italian *Risorgimento*, assumed direction of the government. But the absolute party, rejoicing in the King's support, maintained a bold front, and General De La Tour set up the royal standard at Novara, inviting all the troops devoted to Charles Felix, to rally thereto. The small revolutionary force, making their way to Lombardy, met De La Tour's soldiers below Novara (8th of April, 1821), when the latter, aided by a corps of Austrian troops —who had passed the Ticino—forced the constitutionalists to beat a retreat. The Piedmontese revolution can thus be said to have been all over in a month: its now scattered and fugitive partisans repaired to Genoa and from thence into exile.

"One Sunday in April, 1821, when I was a boy," writes Giuseppe Mazzini, "I was walking along the Strada Nuova in Genoa with my mother and an old friend of the family. The Piedmontese insurrection was at an end; treason, the incapacity of its leaders, as well as Austrian interference, had been the main factors in its failure. The insurgents flocked to Genoa in order to further their escape by sea; they were in an impoverished condition and in search of pecuniary aid to pay their way to Spain where revolution reigned triumphant. Most of them were confined in San Pier d'Arena, awaiting a chance of embarking, but many made their way into the city, and I singled them out from amongst the natives, by the fashion of their dress, their military air and still more, by the deep and settled melancholy of their aspect. The population was strangely excited: some of the more enthusiastic spirits had proposed to the chiefs of the movement—like Santarosa and Ansaldi — to band themselves together, take possession of the city and organise a resistance, but it was said that the town was destitute of all military defence, that the forts were lacking in artillery and that the leaders refused this offer with the answer: 'Reserve yourselves for better things.' There was nothing else to be done, therefore, but to provide these noble-hearted but poverty-stricken precursors of freedom with money and this the citizens did with great liberality. One powerful-looking bronzed and bearded man, with a stern face and flashing eye, whom I have never forgotten, suddenly stopped and accosted us; he held out a white pocket-handkerchief, simply saying, 'For the proscribed Italians.' My mother and her companion dropped some money into the kerchief and he left us to beg of other passers-by. I found later that his name was Rini and that he was a captain of the national guard which had been formed at the commencement of the revolutionary movement. He left with the men for whom his alms had been collected and died, I believe, fighting, like so many others of our countrymen, for the liberty of Spain. This was the first occasion on which there arose a confused idea in my mind—I do not say of patriotism and liberty, but rather a dim perception that one ought to fight if one could for country and freedom."

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The revolutions in Naples and Piedmont had both been defective in their origin; they had not been spontaneous, popular risings, but rather purely military seditions which the mob had applauded, without taking therein an active part; they had not either been simultaneous, for the constitution had already been annulled in the Neapolitan States when it was proclaimed in Piedmont. Now the rulers, under the powerful protection of Austria, were enabled to think about wreaking vengeance on their conquered foes.

In Piedmont nearly all those compromised had been enabled to take refuge in flight and had devoted their arms to the constitutional cause in Spain or to the struggle for Greek independence—among the latter was Santorre Di Santarosa who died a hero's death fighting in the island of Sphacteria, in 1825. Two

Piedmontese alone mounted the scaffold, Captain Garelli and the sub-lieutenant, Laneri. Not till Charles Felix had, by these examples, as he thought, secured order in his states, did he betake himself to Turin (October, 1821), to favour his people with his august presence.

But far worse than the Piedmontese monarch—who for that matter was quite a new phenomenon in the House of Savoy—was King Ferdinand I. Before entering his Neapolitan States, he despatched thither Canosa, the famous minister of police, who, by imprisonments and executions, sought to reduce the kingdom to order. Among those who paid the death penalty were the two sub-lieutenants, Morelli and Silvati, who had been the first to raise the cry of liberty at Nola. Absolutism reappeared; corruption established its reign once more; the courtiers resumed their intrigues, and a worse government than ever was set up and supported by the Austrian troops whom the Neapolitans were obliged to maintain in their midst.

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And now it was Austria's turn to avenge herself on the Lombardo-Venetian States. On the evening of December 31, 1821, Count Federico Confalonieri and his beautiful wife, the Countess Teresa, were discussing the late arrests as they sat alone in an apartment of their palace in Milan; the Countess was persuading her husband to seek refuge in flight and was reminding him for the hundredth time, how, a few evenings before, at the theatre of

La Scala, the Austrian marshal, Bubna, had said to her: "Why does not Count Federico go into the country? I think the fresh air would do him a great deal of good." During this conversation, a commissary of police, followed by several officials, suddenly entered the room, averring, they were there simply for the purpose of making a perquisition. But Count Federico understood that the fatal hour had come; having asked permission to change his dress, he entered his study wherein he had recently caused a secret staircase, leading to a dormer-window, to be constructed, but the noise made in opening the small door of this passage, aroused the suspicions of the agents-of-police, who were at once on his track. In a trice he reached the head of the staircase, quickly shut behind him the heavy trap-door which closed it, and rushed to unfasten the window which remained open every evening. A curse upon it! The window was closed and it was impossible to undo it! Whilst he vainly rattled at the bar, the trap-door was raised and his pursuers were upon him, and Confalonieri, giving his wife a last embrace, was led away to prison.

Gaetano Castillia, Giorgio Pallavicino, Borsieri, Tonelli and many other Lombardo-Venetian subjects, each accused of secret complicity with the Piedmontese revolutionists, had all been previously arrested. Only in 1824 was their fate decided; Confalonieri and several more were condemned to death, but afterwards, being reprieved, were sent to languish in the fortress of Spielberg where Pellico, Maroncelli and others, condemned to imprisonment in past years, still pined in captivity.

In such a way was the gulf between the Austrian government and the Lombardo-Venetian populations ever widened, nor was the Emperor Francis the man to have bridged it over. He kept the plan of those prisons in his own cabinet and personally augmented or diminished the punishments of his captives. His special permit had to be obtained for Piero Maroncelli to have his leg amputated, after long months of intense suffering; his consent had to be procured for Costantino Munari to wear a peruke; indeed it was the Emperor who caused a pillow to be removed from under the head of Confalonieri, which had been made by poor Countess Teresa's own hands.

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The example of Austria was imitated and even surpassed, by the Italian rulers themselves; for where there had been no open manifestation of rebellion, the governments, full of dread and suspicion, resorted to arrests. Francis IV. of Modena distinguished himself among the Italian princes by his exceptional brutality. In his own small state there were no less than a hundred arrested who, bound in threes, were conducted to the Castle of Rubiera, and there one of their number, a young priest, Giuseppe Andreoli, was executed before the eyes of his companions who were placed at the windows of the prison on purpose to witness the spectacle.

The Duke of Modena then sought to ingratiate himself with Austria, by procuring the latter's support to a scheme for excluding Charles Albert from the

Sardinian throne to which he himself aspired by virtue of his marriage with the eldest daughter of Victor Emmanuel I. Francis IV., thinking to turn to his own advantage the aversion that Charles Felix, after the affair of 1821, had entertained towards Charles Albert, flattered himself that he could bring about the abolition of the Salic law in Piedmont. But the opposition of France who distrusted the presence of an Austrian archduke on her frontier, as well as the unwillingness of Charles Felix to deprive the House of Savoy of its temporal rights, rendered the design of the Modenese ruler abortive.

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Charles Albert now found himself obliged to give a genuine proof of his devotion to the Holy Alliance. The latter, after having suppressed the Italian revolution, aimed at destroying the constitution in Spain. For this purpose, a great congress was convened at Verona, in October, 1822, at which the Emperor of Austria, the Czar of Russia, the King of Prussia and the leading Italian rulers, with a crowd of ambassadors and courtiers, were present. There, what time they listened to Rossini's operas, applauded Catalani's singing or assisted at gorgeous spectacles in the arena, the members of the Congress occupied themselves with political affairs. Charles Felix, jealous of his own independence, obtained a concession for the Austrian troops who had entered Piedmont in 1821, to leave that province. Not so Ferdinand I. of Naples who had only too much need of such a prop to keep him on his throne; nay, when the various

Powers, mistrustful of the predominance of Austria, wished to reduce the number of the fifty thousand Austrian soldiers in the kingdom of Naples to thirty thousand, its ruler proposed enlisting mercenaries to fill up the gap thus left in the ranks.

But the most important step taken at the Congress was the commission given to France to demolish constitutional government in Spain, and Charles Albert was actually obliged to enrol himself in the French army sent thither, and help destroy that constitution which he had himself promulgated in Piedmont the year before. He had, moreover, to fight those Spanish patriots whose bands had been swelled by some of the Piedmontese exiles themselves: surely his was a terribly severe punishment! As befitted his valiant descent, the Sardinian Prince distinguished himself by characteristic bravery and in the attack on the Trocadero, well deserved from the men he commanded, the title of 'first among French grenadiers.' It was an honourable distinction, if little calculated to please the Italian liberals, but many years were yet to pass ere his compatriots could hail him by a more glorious title—that of 'the magnanimous King.'

VI

TEN YEARS OF REACTION

THE period between 1821 and 1831 was indeed an unhappy one for Italy. Under the shadow of Austrian protection, the various rulers continued their persecution of the constitutional party ; the Jesuit teaching authorities were still enervating the Italian character, whilst spies and executioners were employed to uproot the 'poisonous plant' of liberalism. Well might Italy in those days find her interpreter in that most pessimistic of poets—Giacomo Leopardi.

Many were the obstacles that hindered the development of the sacred principles of freedom and patriotism! Not only was there no liberty of the press, but any patriotic allusion, however remote, provoked the most brutal condemnation. In an air, in the opera of *Puritani*, the theatrical censor went so far as to cancel the word *libertà* (liberty) and substitute for it the word *lealtà* (loyalty). *Apropos* of this fact, Giovanni Ruffini relates a curious occurrence which took place at Genoa. Signor Ronconi, the famous baritone and a great public favourite, having, in the ardour of his *rôle*, forgotten the above-mentioned emendation, was imprisoned for three days in order to refresh his memory. Not long after, singing the line in the *Elisir d'Amore*, describing how a peasant enlisted: "*Vendè la libertà, si fè soldato*" ("He sold his liberty to be a soldier"), he, waggishly, altered it to, "*Vendè la lealtà, si fè soldato*" ("He sold his loyalty to be a soldier"). This variation in the text was received with lively applause by the public who always warmly welcomed anything that savoured of political opposition. The next day, the poor singer was summoned by the head of the police to receive a reprimand for having said that "loyalty could be sold," to which Ronconi replied by observing that, a few days before, he had been taught in a way he was not likely to forget, that *lealtà* ought always to be substituted for *libertà*. The affair had no further serious consequences, but it provided all Genoa with a laugh at the expense of the government.

One great impediment to the diffusion of ideas arose from the difficulty of communication, further aggravated by the numerous customs duties, so that the number of books from one end of the peninsula to the other was but small. Indeed the only state in which a little intellectual life still survived was Tuscany, where Leopold II., who had ascended the throne in 1824, appeared desirous of continuing the placid *régime* of his father, Ferdinand III. and of his grandfather, Peter Leopold I. Consequently this province attracted many liberals and emigrants from other parts of Italy. For some years past, Gian Pietro Vieusseux, a Genevese, had opened a reading-room in Florence and afterwards founded the *Antologia* which, during the twelve years of its existence, represented all that was best in Italian life and thought.

Very different was the condition of the Neapolitan States. Ferdinand I., the perjured monarch of 1821, had been succeeded in 1825, by his son, Francis I., at once a most bigoted and dissolute man who scrupulously fulfilled the most superstitious practices of devotion, only to abandon himself to the most scandalous orgies. Under his venal rule, justice, honours and the highest offices of the state were alike shamelessly sold, and the King positively used to make a joke of the traffic which his chamberlain, Viglia, carried on therein. It can be easily understood how such a *régime* tended more and more to deprave the minds of his subjects.

Francis I. possessed the distinctive characteristic of of his race—cowardice—in its highest degree; hence his police force was augmented and espionage became one of the chief institutions in the state. It was against this despotic government that the inhabitants of Cilento—a mountainous region in the province of Salerno—rebelled in the summer of 1828. The King despatched thither his minister, Del Carretto who put down the rising with barbarous cruelty. The heads of those who had been executed were carried in iron cages from one village to another and exposed to view opposite the houses where dwelt the mothers, wives and children of the victims.

In 1830, the news of the French Revolution, which drove the chief scion of the house of Bourbon from the throne, fully intimidated Francis I.; besides, the remembrance of his past haunted his mind with terrible vividness, and thus tormented by horrible phantoms and torn by remorse, he died on the 8th of November of that year, leaving behind him a memory universally execrated.

Nor had the Neapolitans reason to envy their neighbours in the Papal States. Pius VII. died in 1823, and was succeeded in the pontifical office by Cardinal Della Genga, who assumed the title of Leo XII. As he owed his promotion to the reactionary party, he was an intransigent enemy of all free thought. Whilst brigands infested the country, the police only thought of capturing the liberals, who were arrested in such numbers that the prisons were absolutely crammed with victims. The province was literally overrun by police constables and executioners, especially the district of Romagna which writhed even more than the rest under this miserable yoke. Cardinal Rivarola, sent to pacify the country, only showed the most rigorous severity in his treatment of the people. Nor did matters mend with the death of Leo XII. in 1829, for Pius VIII., who succeeded him, pursued a like policy.

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In short, reaction was now rampant throughout the peninsula. But imprisonments and executions, if they are successful in retarding the march of ideas, will ever be impotent in stopping it altogether. Therefore, in spite of persecutions, a strong nucleus of patriots continued to labour for the great work of Italian redemption.

The French Revolution of 1830 naturally found an echo in Italy, but it came neither from Piedmont nor Naples, the two kingdoms which had raised the constitutional standard in 1820–21. In both states most of the liberals were in prison or in exile; moreover the arrest of the advocate, Angelo Brofferio, and the brothers Durando, hindered the outbreak of the Piedmontese conspiracy that was being hatched, whilst in the Neapolitan kingdom, Ferdinand II., who had just ascended the throne, was holding out hopes of a prompt amelioration of affairs. Hence the flame of revolution was this time kindled and fed in Central Italy.

For some time past, certain Italian liberals had been in communication with an association founded in Paris, for the purpose of promulgating revolutionary ideas throughout Europe and effecting the formation of a league of constitutional states against the alliance of absolutist powers; its members included Lafayette, the Duke of Orleans, Louis Philippe and others. These secret negotiations were well known to Francis IV., the petty tyrant of Modena, who since the reconciliation of Charles Felix with Charles Albert had now lost all hope of succession to the throne of Savoy. Urged by his unbridled ambition, Francis determined to profit by this liberal league, and wormed himself into the ranks of the conspirators by establishing private communications with Ciro Menotti, a rich manufacturer of Modena, who was one of the local leaders of the movement. The Duke promised his support to the scheme, with the view of obtaining for himself the crown of the future Italian kingdom, and Ciro Menotti, although knowing the Prince's perverse tendencies, trusted to Francis's insatiate lust of power to justify his own misplaced confidence.

When the revolution established Louis Philippe on the French throne, the Modenese ruler believed he was nearing the goal of his ambition, but the new King of France, in order to get himself acknowledged as such by the absolutist monarchs of Europe, communicated to Austria the details of the Italian plot. Francis IV., aware of this denunciation, but pretending, notwithstanding, to know nothing about it, wrote to warn the court of Vienna against Louis Philippe; moreover, he assured them of the existence of a conspiracy in which the French king and some Italian liberals were implicated, to which he admitted having feigned adherence for his own purposes. Then, fearing this were not enough to merit the pardon of Austria, he proceeded to display a ferocious zeal against his ci-devant accomplices.

On the night of the 3rd–4th of February, 1831, the chief leaders of the plot had assembled at the house of Ciro Menotti in Modena, for the purpose of making final arrangements, when a regiment of ducal troops arrived and surrounded the building. The besieged barricaded the doors and for several hours offered a vigorous resistance; eventually, the soldiers brought up a piece of artillery by which the dwelling was almost demolished and its occupants, now nearly all wounded, were taken prisoners. Francis IV. immediately forwarded the following note to the governor of Reggio: "A terrible plot against me has been discovered this very night. The conspirators are in my hands. Send me the executioner."

The executioner was despatched without delay, but with his arrival at Modena came the news that a rising had broken out in the neighbourhood of Bologna. This provoked such intense excitement in the city that Francis fled terrified, taking with him Ciro Menotti closely guarded, and thus pursued by the sounds of sedition, he sought and found protection in the Austrian garrison of Mantua.

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But how had the revolution broken out at Bologna? To understand it, we must revert to the cruel treatment of the Romagna provinces during the pontificates of Leo XII. and Pius VIII. The latter had died on the 30th of November, 1830, when the news from France was already exciting a ferment in the popular mind. The conclave was of long duration, and the interregnum thus offered appeared to the liberals a good opportunity for rising. The cardinals, scenting danger, hastened on their deliberations and on the 2nd of February, 1831, raised Father Mauro Cappellari to the popedom under the title of Gregory XVI. But before the news of this election arrived in Romagna, the Bolognese, encouraged by the aspect of affairs in Modena, were in open insurrection. The papal legate was obliged to quit the city, and the revolution thus bloodlessly effected in so peaceable and methodical a manner, soon extended throughout Romagna, the Marches and parts of Umbria.

The deputies from the freed provinces assembled in convocation at Bologna on the 26th of February, 1831, declared the temporal power of the Pope to be at an end and formed a federation of the 'United Italian Provinces,' presided over by the advocate Vicini. This political movement was abetted by the two youthful brothers Bonaparte, one of whom was shortly afterwards to die at Forlì, the other to become Emperor of the French under the title of Napoleon III.

Thus, in a few days and without bloodshed, a great transformation had taken place, and the tricoloured banner now fluttered from the banks of the lower Po to those of the upper Tiber. Nor was the revolution confined to the limits of the Papal States. The flight of Francis IV. had dispelled all his people's fears, and the insurrectionary movement was acclaimed throughout the province of Emilia, so that the Duchess Marie Louise left Parma to seek a refuge amid the Austrian bayonets in the citadel of Piacenza. Meantime, provisional governments were everywhere being organised. It was now that Giovanni Berchet wrote his famous hymn of war to heighten popular enthusiasm :—

"Su, figli d'Italia, su in armi, coraggio!
Il suolo qui è nostro; del nostro retaggio
Il turpe mercato finisce pei re.
Un popol diviso per sette destini
In sette spezzato da sette confini
Si fonde in un solo, più servo non è.
Su, Italia, su in armi! Venuto è il tuo dì!
Dei re congiurati la tresca finì.
Dall' Alpi allo Stretto fratelli siam tutti!
Sui limiti schiusi, sui troni distrutti
Piantiamo i comuni tre nostri color;
Il *verde*, la speme tant' anni pasciuta,
Il *rosso*, la gioia d'averla compiuta,
Il *bianco*, la fede fraterna d'amor. . . ."

(Up, up, sons of Italy, courage be ours!
The land is our own, and no longer let powers
And rulers iniquitous trade in our shame!
O, seven are our peoples, and seven are the fates
That govern our destinies, seven are their states;
But servitude o'er, then one is our name.
To arms, sons of Italy! Now dawns the day!
We've done with the kings that are traitors, for aye.
We are brethren all—from the Alps to the sea!
Our thrones are demolished: our frontiers are free;
Our tricoloured banner is floating above—
Its *green*, for the hope that has ripened through years;
While *red*, for the joy of fulfilment appears,
And *white* is the symbol of brotherly love. . . .)

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But the illusion was all too short. The Pope, the Duke of Modena and the Duchess of Parma, protested against the acts of the provisional governments established in their states and implored the assistance of the imperial troops. The Vienna cabinet was equally anxious to abolish these revolutionary governments south of the Po, whose existence would have menaced its own power on the north. The Italians trusted to the observance of the principle of non-intervention proclaimed by the new French monarchy, which had already been applied to Belgium, but facts soon proved that Louis Philippe was none too jealous in defending his theories against the will of Austria.

In the month of February, the Austrian troops at Piacenza escorted Marie Louise back again to Parma. So far, however, the non-intervention axiom had not been violated, seeing that the Duchess was in her own territory, and the troops who had reinstated her on the throne, by the treaty of 1815, remained in the dukedom.

By the beginning of March, Austrian soldiers had likewise entered Modena and restored Francis IV. to power. The Duke was barely reinstated on his throne than he thought himself bound to give his ally a substantial pledge of his devotion, by executing vengeance on his enemies. To this end, he called to his aid the hated Canosa who had been minister of Police under Ferdinand I. of Naples. One of the tyrant's first victims was Ciro Menotti whose life, at the time of the plot, he had solemnly promised to spare under all circumstances. As pretext for her interference in Modena, Austria could still claim her eventual rights of succession in the duchy, so the united Italian Provinces continued to regard themselves as secure, and in order not to infringe their own principle of non-intervention, disarmed the Modenese liberals who, under the leadership of General Zucchi, had retired to Bolognese territory.

However, Austria who was heedless of the open declarations of France, since she knew the secret intentions of Louis Philippe, despatched a body of troops into Romagna. The provisional government, seeing resistance to be impossible, withdrew from Bologna to Ancona. Meanwhile, a sanguinary struggle took place at Rimini, in which the small Italian army—at that time directed by General Zucchi—was defeated. The provisional government then signed a treaty of capitulation (March 26, 1831) with Cardinal Benvenuti who, sent by the Pope to the insurgents, had been treated by the latter as an hostage. But this capitulation was ignored both by the Pope and the Austrians: a vessel which carried a large number of the revolutionists was seized, as it left the port of Ancona, by the Austrian squadron, and the captured patriots were taken to the prisons of Venice. Many among them—including Terenzio Mamiani—were after a few months' imprisonment, banished to foreign lands where, by their writings, they helped to foster sympathy for Italian grievances. Some few, however, were kept in confinement; among these was General Zucchi who, having once served in the Austrian army, was regarded as a traitor and condemned to death—a sentence afterwards commuted to that of life-long detention in the fortress of Palmanova, where we shall find him again in 1848.

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Thus in less than two months, a revolution, begun so auspiciously, was totally suppressed; those cities which had, only a little before, joyfully hailed the tricoloured standard, now saw the Austrian flag hoisted over their fortresses, and Austrian gibbets arising under its shadow.

But the same nations which had, either directly or indirectly, contributed to the re-establishment of the Pope's temporal sway, grasped the fact that the latter stood in need of serious modifications. It was no longer possible, in the middle of the nineteenth century, that a population of several millions of men should be ruled by a few thousand priests; therefore, in the same year, 1831, the five great Powers of Europe—England, France, Austria, Prussia and Russia—presented a collective note to the Holy See, under the name of a *Memorandum*, in which they insisted on some absolutely indispensable reforms. The pontifical court, as was ever its custom, professed to receive these representations with deference and promised to take them into account, but with no real intention of doing anything whatever in the matter. In short, the concessions made in response to this *Memorandum* were quite insignificant, and a blind despotism continued to prevail in the Papal States. Even those liberals who had put confidence in the intervention of diplomacy, seeing their hopes thus blasted, determined to justify their arguments by force; agitations began afresh, and armed bands of men were organised with a view to active measures.

As the Austrians had already retired, the papal government caused Swiss soldiers to oppose the insurgents, armed the dregs of the Romagna population and incited them against the liberals: hence the massacres of Cesena and Forlì in 1832. In the face of such butcheries and pillage, the Austrians intervened a second time and installed themselves at Bologna. Then King Louis Philippe, severely blamed by his Chamber of Deputies for the base part played by France towards Italy, deemed it advisable to act and sent a French regiment to occupy the citadel of Ancona. In fact, the Austrians remained at Bologna, and the French at Ancona, till the end of 1838; whilst under those two flags the wretched provinces continued to submit to the government of military commissions and exceptional tribunals.

Throughout Italy the system of violent repression of all liberal manifestations continued. It was even so in Piedmont, although Charles Albert had succeeded Charles Felix in 1831. The former had come into power backed by the liveliest expectations of all Italian liberals who saw in him the *Carbonaro* of 1821. These reminiscences, however, were not altogether grateful to the new king; rather did he seem disposed to regard the revolutionists coldly, and disinclined to draw suspicion on himself: he maintained the while an attitude of reserve, and yielded none his confidence. During the first years of his reign, indeed, he appeared to have renounced his youthful dreams of glory, to have abjured the sacred principle of national independence and to be content with the *rôle* of the grenadier of the Trocadero.

VII

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI AND 'YOUNG ITALY'

JUST at the commencement of Charles Albert's reign, a letter, dated from Marseilles and addressed to the new king, was circulated among Italian patriots, amongst whom it evoked universal enthusiasm. Charles Albert also received a copy of this missive which ran as follows:—

"SIRE! Have you never fixed your gaze—one of those eagle glances to which a world is revealed—on this smiling Italy of ours, radiant as Nature's self, crowned with two thousand years of glorious memories, the foster-mother of genius and—were she only united, and protected against foreign insult by a strong will and a few valiant hearts—infinitely powerful? And have you never said, 'Here is a country destined to glorious things!' Have you never contemplated the race by whom she is peopled, magnificent still, in spite of the shadow with which servitude has obscured it, great alike through vital instincts, strength of intellect and the energy of mighty, if misguided, passions—misguided, because circumstances have hindered their development in the right direction, but notwithstanding, the elements out of which nations are created—a race, moreover, so great that adversity has never been able to conquer its indestructible hopes. Has this thought never come to you: 'fashion—as God did from chaos—a world out of these scattered elements; re-unite the dispersed particles and say: "It is mine all throughout, and it is happy:"' then thou shalt be like unto the Creator Himself, and twenty millions of men will exclaim, 'God is in heaven and Charles Albert on earth!'

"Sire, surely you once cherished these sentiments; the blood coursed joyously in your veins, fired by illimitable hopes and dreams of glory; you passed many sleepless nights, meditating on that unique idea, nay, you yourself plotted in its behalf. And what need to blush for it, for there is no more sacred vocation in the whole world than that of the conspirator who constitutes himself the avenger of humanity and the interpreter of the eternal laws of nature. The time was not then ripe, but why should ten years and a precarious crown have destroyed the ideals of your youth? . . .

"If your soul, Sire, is indeed dead to noble aspirations, if you have no other aim in reigning than to pursue the miserable routine of your royal predecessors, if you have the soul of a slave, then bend your neck under the Austrian yoke and be a despot; but even then let your despotism be genuine, because a single step which you take out of the beaten track, makes you an enemy of that Power whom you fear. The Austrian mistrusts you, but drag to his feet the heads of ten, yea, twenty victims; load the captives with yet heavier fetters; repay, with unmeasured submission, that contempt which he has poured out upon you for ten years past. Perhaps the tyrant of Italy will forget that you have conspired against him; perhaps he will allow you to keep for some years longer the provinces which he has coveted since 1814. If, on the contrary, in reading these words, your mind reverts to those moments when you dared to look beyond the dominion of an Austrian fief, if you hear a voice within you which cries: 'Thou wert born to a great destiny';—oh, follow it; it is the voice of your good genius, the voice of Time himself who offers you his aid in climbing from century to century, till you reach eternity; it is the voice of all Italy who only waits for a word, a single word, to become yours.

"Proffer her this word! . . . Place yourself at the head of the nation and inscribe on your banner, 'Union, Liberty, Independence!' Proclaim the sanctity of thought; vindicate your claim to be the interpreter of popular rights; declare yourself the regenerator of all Italy and free her from the barbarians! Build up the future; give your name to a century, and begin an era of your own! . . .

"Sire! the enterprise may be regarded as very difficult by men who trust only to numerical strength, as well as by those who, in order to change empires, rely but on negotiations and embassies. But the way of triumph is assured, if you can thoroughly understand your position, firmly convince yourself that you are consecrated to a holy mission and proceed with frank, decisive and energetic determination. Opinion is a power which balances all others, and great things are not accomplished by protocols, but by a right understanding of the times in which we live. The secret of power lies in the will. Choose a way which harmonises with the nation's ideal and keep to it unalterably; be firm and seize your opportunity, for you have victory in your grasp. . . .

"But if you fail to accomplish the work, others will do it without any help of yours and in spite of you! Do not let yourself be deceived by the enthusiasm which greeted your accession, but seek for the ground of that enthusiasm and you will find that, in greeting you, the people greeted hope, because your name recalled the man of 1821, and if you should cheat their expectations, a spasm of rage will succeed a joy which only has reference to the future. . . .

"I have told you the truth, Sire, free men await your answer in deeds! However it may be, rest assured that posterity will hail you as *the first among men*, or *the last of Italian tyrants*. Choose!

"'AN ITALIAN.'"

And who was this Italian who thus so clearly expressed his country's ideal of unity and freedom? It was Giuseppe Mazzini, a young Genoese of twenty-six years of age, who had just come out of the prisons of Savona. From his early student days he had been an enthusiast for the sacred principles of patriotism and liberty but suspected of complicity with the *Carbonari*, he had been arrested and condemned to several months of imprisonment. During his captivity, he had thought much on the matter and had come to the conclusion that, so far, the Italian revolutionary movements had failed, because the people had been excluded from them. Hence, in his opinion, it was necessary to initiate the masses into this new idea and before all, to make it clear to them that patriotism implied not only love of their own particular state, but of the whole of Italy. Mazzini was, therefore, the very first practical thinker to devise Italian unification.

On his liberation from captivity, the Sardinian government had offered him the alternative of confining himself to some small city in Piedmont, or leaving the kingdom. However, during his prison solitude, Mazzini had been meditating the formation of a new secret society, and rightly imagined that he would have small chance of furthering its object in a petty Piedmontese town, under the perpetual surveillance of the police; he therefore chose exile and repaired to Marseilles, whence he had just written the above-quoted letter to Charles Albert. Later, Mazzini owned he had done this for the purpose of undeceiving those liberals who still had confidence in the King of Sardinia, and to promote the general acceptance of ultra-republican principles. Charles Albert's answer to the letter was, indeed, just the one that Mazzini had expected; the King ordered the writer should be arrested if ever he appeared on the frontier, and in the meantime, redoubled his severity against liberalism.

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In the meantime, Mazzini had founded, at Marseilles, his new society, of 'Young Italy' and, under the same title, he published a periodical for the purpose of instilling into the popular mind the idea of a united, free, independent and republican Italy. The police of the different states in the peninsula frequently arrested those persons supposed to be in communication with the originator of such a revolutionary publication, but this did not prevent the latter being circulated everywhere, though its readers and propagandists ran the risk of imprisonment and even of death.

A man of ardent faith, spotless life and lofty genius, as well as a writer of impassioned prose and a born leader of men, Giuseppe Mazzini exercised an absolute fascination over the Italian patriots who rallied to his standard in goodly numbers. His most attached friend and devoted follower at Genoa was Jacopo Ruffini. The latter, having been arrested, dreaded lest some of the terrible methods of the police might be successful in extorting revelations from him, and therefore determined to commit suicide; taking a small, rusty iron bar out of the prison door, he sharpened its point on the wall and, with the weapon thus fashioned, opened his veins. Thus died Jacopo

Ruffini, in the Genoese prison of the Torre, June 19, 1833. His brothers also were arrested and then banished; one of them, Giovanni, afterwards acquired a literary reputation in England by his novels, *Doctor Antonio* and *Lorenzo Benoni*.

Among the exiles from the Sardinian states in the same year was a young priest, Vincenzo Gioberti, whose philosophical writings were beginning to make his name known. Unfortunately, the reactionary courtiers who surrounded Charles Albert insisted on urging him to bloodshed and too well succeeded in their cruel design; several of the conspirators of 1833 were condemned to death, among whom were Francesco Miglio, Giuseppe Biglia, also Antonio Gavotti, executed in Genoa, and the attorney, Andrea Vochieri, shot at Alessandria where he had shown throughout his trial and up to his last moments, a truly heroic courage.

The persecutions which the Piedmontese government set on foot against the party of Mazzini, incited the latter to organise a movement against Piedmont. He rallied some hundred fugitives and banded them together under the command of Colonel Ramorino who had acquired a certain military renown in the recent Polish insurrection. Early in 1834, this band of insurgents penetrated into Savoy, but they were received with indifference by the population who turned a deaf ear to the enthusiastic proclamations of Mazzini, so after an encounter with the royal troops, the revolutionists retired.

It had been arranged that other risings in the different Piedmontese towns were to break out simultaneously, but after the failure of the Savoy expedition, they were countermanded. In the meantime, the police set about making arrests. Amongst those embroiled in this conspiracy was a young Nice sailor, named Giuseppe Garibaldi, who had tried to find adherents for the Mazzinian cause in the ranks of the royal navy and on this account, had been condemned to death in the same year (1834). However, happily for Italy, he succeeded in making his escape.

This severe repression of revolutionary enterprise in 1833–1834, somewhat tended to alienate the sympathies of Italian patriots for Charles Albert, but did not altogether nullify them, and the few reforms he had already made in the administration of the state, sufficed to keep alive their lingering belief in his liberal tendencies.

In 1835, the Emperor Francis of Austria died and his place was filled by Ferdinand I., an absolutely inept prince, with so mean a sense of his exalted position that he used to say: "It would be easy enough to be emperor, if it were not for the continual bother of signing decrees." It can easily be understood how a monarch, so constituted, relegated all power to his prime minister, Prince Metternich, at once the most violent partisan of absolutist ideas and the bitterest adversary of Italian patriotic aspirations —the author, moreover, of that famous phrase: "Italy is only a geographical expression."

Metternich now seized the opportunity of taking the Emperor into Italy, to receive the crown of the Lombardo-Venetian kingdom at Milan. The minister desired that all the princes of the peninsula should be invited to this solemn function, because, as vassals, they would thus do homage to their common tyrant. But Charles Albert refused to be present, and this independent attitude sufficed to re-awaken that cordiality towards him which had begun to wax faint in Italian breasts.

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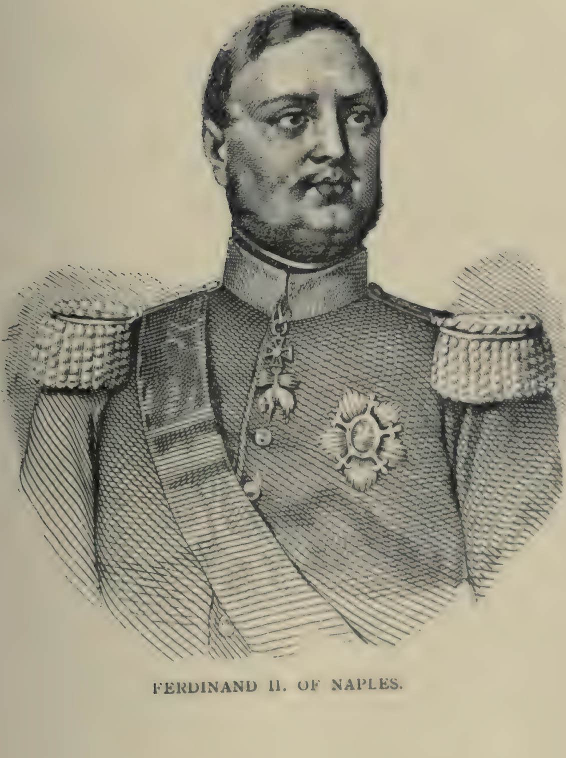
Another Italian prince, Ferdinand II. of Naples, was, on the contrary, now rendering himself universally hated. When in 1830, at little over twenty years of age, he ascended the throne, he had aroused good hopes of better things by issuing a proclamation, in which he declared that Providence had charged him with the duty of assuaging the grievances of the Neapolitan people, and that his *régime* would be a wise and just one. But the nomination of Del Carretto as minister of police, soon disillusioned the new King's subjects. Ferdinand II. was animated by two ruling passions: an insatiable thirst for power and an inordinate love of money; the first forbade him to introduce into his states aught but the shadow of a constitutional government, and the second prevented him from troubling about the abuses fostered by his *employés*, provided they required but little for their work. By this means the most brazen corruption prevailed in the administration of his kingdom, and a regular system of rapine was practised by all the government officials. Yet no one dared to protest against it since to print the least allusion to public abuses, exposed the authors guilty of such hardihood to imprisonment or exile. Any person suspected of liberal opinions was thrown into prison, without the government giving any motive for such an arrest, and to such an extent had spies wormed themselves into all ranks of society that every one hesitated to express his own opinions. Besides, King Ferdinand was wont to say: "My people have no need to think; I am responsible for their welfare and dignity."

The only person in the Neapolitan court beloved by the people, was the King's consort, Maria Christina of Savoy—daughter of Victor Emmanuel I.—called by her subjects, on account of her many virtues, 'the Saint.' Maria Christina died in 1836, and Ferdinand II. who had always treated her brutally, soon repaired to Vienna to affiance himself to an Austrian archduchess.

In 1837, the discontent in Sicily found vent in a popular rising. There an outbreak of cholera had claimed many victims, and indignation, terror, ignorance and popular superstition combined to give credence to a rumour that the government were compassing the death of the citizens: hence in several places tumults broke out. The liberals wished to profit by this outburst of fury to free Sicily from the Bourbon yoke. Syracuse rose, and thence the revolution extended to the neighbouring district of Catania. But Ferdinand II. sent Del Carretto thither who, followed by police-agents



FERDINAND II. OF NAPLES.

and executioners, erected gibbets in all the villages, and by this means succeeded in restoring order in the island.

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Meanwhile, Mazzini, expelled from France, had taken refuge in freer England where, by his writings, he was doing good service in familiarising English people with Italian literature, as well as in diffusing amongst them a strong current of sympathy for the affairs of the peninsula. Thence he boldly prosecuted his political mission and continually aimed at arousing in the minds of his compatriots, hatred against internal and foreign tryants.

But it was not only by the inflammatory writings of Mazzini that such sentiments were propagated amongst his fellow-countrymen: all the Italian poetry and prose of that period were, so to speak, conspiring for the same end. Silvio Pellico's *Le Mie Prigioni*, that calm recital of the martyrdom endured by its author in Austrian prisons with such saint-like fortitude, injured Austrian prestige more than the loss of a battle could have done. The sentiment of his tragedy *Francesca Da Rimini* had also a most powerful effect on audiences, especially when they were declaimed by the actor Gustavo Modena:—

"Per te, per te, che cittadini hai prodi,
Italia mia, combatterò, se oltraggio
Ti moverà l'invidia, E l più gentile
Terren non sei di quanti scalda il sole?
D'ogni bell'arte non sei madre, o Italia?
Polve di eroi non è la polve tua? . . ."

(For thee, the mother of most valiant sons,
For thee, my Italy, I fight, e'en though
Envy may vex thee sore. But surely thou
Must be the sweetest clime the sun illumes,
And mistress of all arts: O Italy!
Is not thy dust ashes of heroes dead?)

But even more than those of Pellico, were the tragedies of Niccolini on fire with hatred of tyranny and love of liberty. At the representation of *Giovanni Da Procida* (the legendary conspirator of the Sicilian Vespers), the Austrian ambassador at Florence remarked to his French *confrère*, that "the play seemed like a letter addressed to Frenchmen, but that its contents were evidently meant for the Austrians," and thus did the Italian people understand it. In his *Arnaldo Di Brescia*—a tragedy which evoked the greatest enthusiasm — the incisive verses of Niccolini severely castigated the vices of the clergy.

Side by side with Niccolini, Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi quite bewitched the Italian youth. He sent word to Mazzini: "I have written this book—the *Assedio Di Firenze*—because I have not been able to fight a battle." Certain it is that his kindling words helped to produce heroes among the Italian people.

In the romances of D'Azeglio, Grossi and Manzoni, and the histories of Balbo, Colletta, Amari and Troya, as throughout the writings of Tommaseo, Vannucci, Capponi and Cantù, and the poetry of Rossetti, Berchet, Giusti and Prati, there vibrated the patriotic note—that note which even found an echo in the music of Bellini, Rossini and later still, of

Verdi. All these works were most efficacious in promoting the idea of the regeneration of Italy, and that which for so long had been the dream of a few chosen spirits, now became a universal aspiration throughout the country. Literary men sought, indeed, for themes which should best express the national sentiment, and the least political allusions were at once eagerly seized upon by that public which felt itself in sympathy with the writers; thus, when they came to these verses of Berchet in the *Lega Lombarda*:—

"Su, nell'irto, increscioso Alemanno
Su, Lombardi, puntate la spada,
Fate vostra la vostra contrada,
Questa bella che il ciel vi sortì":—

(Ay, into the insolent Teuton
Plunge boldly, O Lombards, your swords!
Make the beauteous land heaven awards
As your portion, for ever your own):—

every one's thoughts reverted—not to the Germans of Frederic Barbarossa—but to the Austrian troops of Ferdinand I. Even the science congresses helped to spread liberal influences. Leopold II., Grand Duke of Tuscany, was persuaded by savants that such scientific conferences would enhance his prestige in that beautiful province which had always been the chosen home of learning, and the Grand Duke, touched by this adulation, allowed these assemblies to be inaugurated at Pisa in 1839. The example first given by Leopold II. who prided himself on honouring the learned men convened at Pisa, influenced the other more ambitious princes: Charles Albert and Ferdinand II.

now likewise permitted these congresses to be held in their dominions. Such gatherings gradually took place in all the Italian provinces — except in the Papal States — and though insignificant in their scientific results, they much profited the national cause, by facilitating communications between the most eminent men scattered in the different parts of Italy and by arousing the peninsula from that political torpor in which it had been, up till this time, studiously lulled by its rulers.

Meanwhile, the development and utilisation of machinery became widespread, and a rapid industrial and commercial growth kept pace with it. The number of agrarian associations, in order to popularise in the country the improvements already introduced in agriculture, increased ; savings banks were founded, and the circulation of papers was fostered. Progress was, in fact, in the air, and made itself felt especially in the construction of fresh railroads.

VIII

THE FORCE OF PUBLIC OPINION

MAZZINI used to say: "Martyrdom is never sterile," and therefore he favoured all insurrectionary projects set on foot by the most ardent of his disciples. Hence followed some risings, quickly repressed, in the Abruzzi (1841), in Romagna (1843) and in Calabria (1844). With this Calabrian movement is associated the heroic expedition undertaken by the Bandiera brothers. Attilio and Emilio Bandiera, two young Venetian officers (sons of that Austrian admiral who had captured the vessel which was carrying the insurgents of 1831 from the port of Ancona), had been fired by the writings of Mazzini with the determination to consecrate their lives to the redemption of Italy. In 1842 they revealed their project to Mazzini and thenceforward kept up with him an unbroken correspondence. They succeeded in inducing another Venetian naval officer, Domenico Moro, to share their undertaking, abandoned the Austrian vessels under their command and repaired to Corfu, there to await the news of any outbreak in Italy, which might give them an opportunity of fighting for the sacred cause.

Then came the rėvolt in Calabria, which had no sooner broken out than it was quelled. A false report, however, was circulated at Corfu that the insurrection was being kept alive in the mountain districts. The Bandiera brothers decided to carry aid to the insurgents and rallied other patriots to their standard. A band of only nineteen, they arrived at Cotrone, in Calabria, and thence made for Cosenza. But, betrayed by a traitor in their ranks, they were quickly surrounded by a considerable number of Neapolitan troops and, after a short struggle, were taken prisoners and conducted to Cosenza where they were condemned to death. Nine of them paid the extreme penalty on the 25th of July, 1844, in the valley of Rovito: Attilio and Emilio Bandiera, Domenico Moro, Nicola Ricciotti of Frosinone, Lupatelli of Perugia, Rocco of Lugo, Venerucci of Forlì, Berti of Ravenna and Nardi of Modena tranquilly faced the Bourbon bullets with the cry of "Italy for ever!" for the last time on their lips.

* * * * *

The death of the Bandiera brothers sent a thrill of horror throughout the peninsula but, while deploring the fate of these patriots, the majority of Italians well understood that such isolated movements and agitations could produce no satisfactory results, that other means must be found, another order of ideas followed, to attain their ends—a theory pursued by Vincenzo Gioberti, a priest of Turin, and a number of Piedmontese writers. Gioberti, who had been exiled from Piedmont in 1833, had taken refuge in Brussels where he had acquired considerable reputation by his philosophical works. In that city, he published a book in 1843, which bore the title *Il Primato Morale e Civile degli Italiani*. The Italians, indeed, could ill boast of any primacy at that epoch, rather were they plunged in the lowest depths of misery and humiliation, and Gioberti himself was not slow to recognise the fact when he wrote as follows:—

"While, to the north, there is a people numbering only twenty-four millions who rule the sea, make Europe tremble, own India, vanquish China and occupy the best ports of Asia, Africa, America and Oceania, what great things have we Italians done? What are our manual and intellectual exploits? Where are our fleets and our colonies? What rank do our legates hold; what force do they wield; what wise or authoritative influence do they exert in foreign courts? What weight attaches to the Italian name in the balance of European power? Foreigners, indeed, know and still visit our country, but only for the purpose of enjoying the changeless beauty of our skies and of looking upon the ruins of our past. But what profits it to speak of glory, riches and power? Can Italy say she has a place in the world? Can she boast of a life of her own and of a political autonomy, when she is awed by the first insolent and ambitious upstart who tramples her under foot and galls her with his yoke? Who is there who shudders not when he reflects that, disunited as we are, we must be the prey of any assailant whatever, and that we owe even that wretched fraction of independence which charters and protocols still allow us, to the compassion of our neighbours." "Although," he adds in conclusion, "all this has come upon us through our own fault; nevertheless, by the exercise of a little strength of will and determination, without upheavals or revolutions and without perpetrating injustice, we can still be one of the first races in the world."

It was, indeed, a seductive programme, and Gioberti rendered it yet more so by his fervently enthusiastic style which was combined with a singularly temperate judgment. He awarded praise to princes and peoples alike, endeavouring to establish concord between them, and especially extolled the papacy which he called "the glory of Italy" and manifested his desire that "a pacific and lasting confederation of Italian princes, commanded and protected by the Pope," might be organised—a scheme in which Austria was also to find her place.

The effects of his book were extraordinary. The rulers, flattered by its eulogies, permitted its free circulation in Italy; the people, proudly realising in these eloquent pages that they had once had preeminence in the world and ought to regain it, warmly applauded the author; while the clergy, attracted by the eloquence of one of their own body who taught that religion and patriotism ought to be associated, ardently welcomed the ideals presented by Gioberti. His sentiments in fact found so much favour with the public, that they directly gave rise to the 'Neo-

Guelph' party, so-called because it wished to place the Pontiff at the head of the national movement. The Jesuits alone, foreseeing the far-reaching effects of such ideals in the future, fiercely attacked the book and its writer, but Gioberti retorted, in 1845, by *I Prolegomeni*, and later by his *Gesuita Moderno.*

Another book, which appeared in 1844, had also excited much attention—Cesare Balbo's *Speranze D'Italia.* This author likewise extolled the papacy, propounded very moderate ideas and aimed at forming a union of Italian states, only stipulating that Charles Albert, King of Sardinia, as the only Italian ruler who possessed a strong army, should be the protector of such a confederation. Balbo maintained that Austria ought to be excluded from this league, but he deprecated the enforcing of such exclusion by a war; counting, moreover, on the fall of the Ottoman Empire, he imagined that Austria, thus enlarging her possessions towards the east, would be ready to cede Lombardy and Venetia to Italy. Such strikingly moderate proposals were expressed in the reasonable hope that the books which contained them would meet with no opposition from the governments.

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It was indeed a strange phenomenon that the papacy should be acclaimed as a blessing to Italy by writers, who flourished under the pontificate of Gregory XVI.—certainly not one of the best of popes. Originally a monk of the Camaldoli order he had been famous for his intense devotion to theological studies, in which he had found a *collabo-*

rateur in his barber, Gaetano Moroni. The Pontiff had, besides, a very pronounced weakness for the wine of Orvieto, and left the care of political affairs to his secretaries of state—first Cardinal Bernetti, afterwards Cardinal Lambruschini. The population of the Papal States still lived in the most absolute ignorance and miserable squalor; brigandage devastated the country districts, and the pontifical court actually came to terms with robbers. In short, the inhabitants of these provinces paid for the honour of being ruled by the successor of St. Peter, by exclusion from all the advantages of modern civilisation.

Now came the episode of Rimini. Gregory XVI. (1845) had responded to Gioberti's glowing pages by persecuting the liberals more furiously than ever. Those patriots, however, before rising against the pontifical government, felt the need of justifying their insurrection in the eyes of Europe and, to this end, published a proclamation, drawn up by Luigi Carlo Farini, wherein were set forth the just reforms demanded for popular grievances—a document which proved what headway the moderate idea had already made at this period. The insurgents occupied the city of Rimini, but retreated before the advance of the Swiss troops and withdrew into Tuscany. Living there at that time, was Massimo D'Azeglio who had not only already acquired a reputation as a romancist and landscape-painter, but had, in the course of his travels, won the sympathies of his fellow-countrymen by his distinguished personal qualities. On seeing these unhappy fugitives, he wrote the famous political *brochure*, *Gli Ultimi Casi di Romagna.* Whilst deprecating, in this tract, all conspiracy and violence, he expressed fiery indignation against the papal government and concluded by saying: "No, we must no longer plot, but we must openly protest in the full light of day, against all the iniquities that have been perpetrated." This work found also a deep and prolonged echo throughout all Italy.

Everywhere, in fact, the Italian question was discussed, and the moderate writers—that is, those who sought to harmonise revolutionary theories with existing facts — enjoyed the greatest popularity. Among the more notable publications of that time is Giacomo Durando's work, *Della Nazionalità Italiana* wherein is propounded the theory that Italy ought to form two great friendly and confederate states—the northern one, under Charles Albert, the southern, under the Bourbons—and to allow the temporal power, restricted to its narrowest limits, to continue in Central Italy. There was no agreement, it is true, among these writers, as to the new order to be set up in the peninsula, but all were at one in declaring that Italy could not exist in her present state, for all saw it was impossible that such a condition of affairs should last. But meantime, like the molten lava in the abyss of Etna, the revolutionary flood was secretly seething in the inmost heart of the nation.

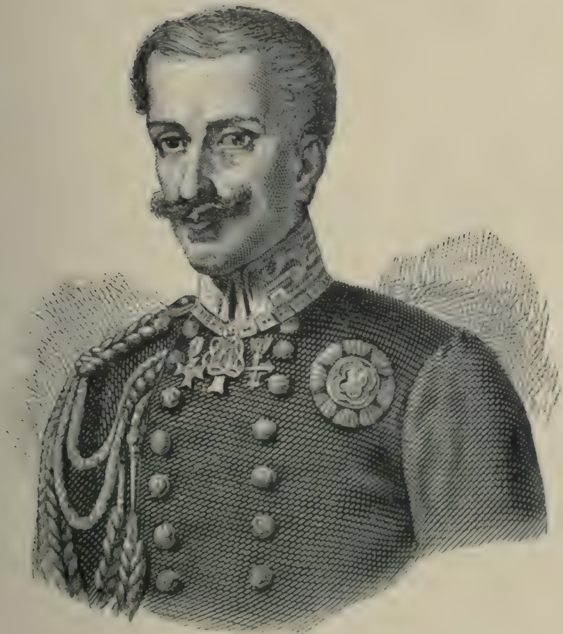
IX

FROM REFORMS TO REVOLUTION

CHARLES ALBERT, who hitherto had displayed a somewhat vacillating policy all round, now began to manifest the deep hatred which he secretly cherished against Austria. The public gladly saw Cesare Balbo, author of the *Speranze d'Italia*, welcomed as an intimate friend by the King, and noted with satisfaction that several of their monarch's associates showed patriotic tendencies. In a conversation held with Charles Albert in 1845, Massimo D'Azeglio had been commissioned by the King to tell the liberals that, when the hour for action arrived, they might reckon on the royal support.

It was an auspicious omen for the constitutionalist party when, in 1846, a chance was offered Charles Albert of making known his anti-Austrian sentiments in a public and official manner, and this through a question connected with the customs. Since 1843, Piedmont had granted the Canton of Ticino a free transit for the salt that its Swiss inhabitants procured at Marseilles or at the free port of Genoa. Austria, who up till then had supplied this part of Switzerland with salt from Venice, resented such an arrangement, and maintained that the concession thus made by the Piedmontese government was contrary to treaties existing between the two nations. Diplomatic notes were interchanged in succession by both parties, with the usual result of diplomacy—that of passing the time without coming to any decision. Finally, Austria, piqued by the new attitude of the Sardinian monarch towards the liberal movement, adopted a bold *coup* to make him change his tactics and on the 20th of April, 1846, without any previous warning to the Piedmontese government, redoubled the duties on the wine of Piedmont. This blow severely injured the commercial interests of the latter which found in Lombardy the principal egress for its wine exports ; hence, Austria thought that Charles Albert would be obliged to submit. But he not only indignantly refused to bow to the imperial decree, but caused an account of the affair to be printed in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale Piemontese* of the 2nd of May, which concluded by asserting that Austria, in taking such a step, had committed an act of reprisals.

In view of the servile attitude preserved by the other Italian States towards Austria, this fearless action on the part of Piedmont appeared nearly a declaration of war, and evoked great enthusiasm among the Turinese. Such a feeling was intensified by a current rumour which reported that, during a ministerial council, the Count De La Tour had said



CHARLES ALBERT,
King of Sardinia.

to the King: "But what will Piedmont do if Austria, hitherto friendly to us, should become hostile?" to which Charles Albert had answered: "If Piedmont loses Austria she will gain Italy, and then Italy will be able to manage her own affairs"—words which found a sympathetic echo throughout the whole community.

The heads of the liberal party determined to profit by this enthusiasm and to organise a demonstration, in order to show the King how strongly the country desired he should persevere in the new way he had struck out.

Every Thursday, Charles Albert used to be present at military manœuvres in the public square. About ten o'clock on the first Thursday morning, immediately after the publication of the article in the *Gazzetta* (May 7, 1846) an immense crowd assembled in the Piazzo Castello, before the royal palace, with the intention of greeting their monarch's appearance by a tremendous ovation. This people which, for fifteen years, had shown itself most cold and reserved towards its sovereign, now wished to fire his soul by its own enthusiasm. Behind a window of the palace stood Charles Albert, in a general's uniform, watching the throng in the square, his eyes shining with joyful anticipation at the thought of being hailed with such unaccustomed applause. Alas! for him the hour of bold decision had not yet come: his reactionary ministers exerted their pressure moreover to prevent him yielding to the popular fervour. He was still vacillating when De La Tour, anxious, as he said, to save the monarchy, arrived, and represented to the King that, as the Austrian ambassador knew that during the demonstration cries would be raised hostile to Austria, the latter would regard such utterances as a provocation on the part of Piedmont. Intimidated by this warning and fearful of precipitating matters, Charles Albert decided not to show himself to the crowd, so the demonstration was nipped in the bud, and the discontented people retired to their own homes.

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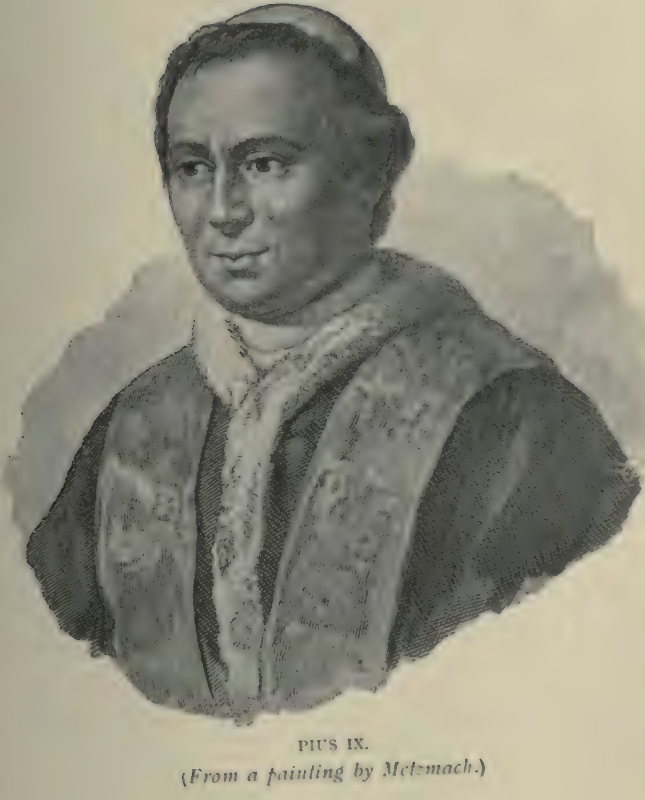
Dark clouds were now gathering over the peninsula, when a light, that was the harbinger of better days, suddenly shone out of the obscurity and, this time, from Rome itself. New ideas are like very pungent perfumes which filter out, however closely they are secreted. Far enough removed from new ideas had been the papal court, during the fifteen years' pontificate of Gregory XVI. However, no sooner was the latter dead (1st of June, 1846), than the same faction which was dividing the Italian world—conservatives and liberals, the men of the past and those of the future—sprang up in the Sacred College itself.

The reactionary cardinals had already fixed upon their candidate in the person of the Genoese, Lambruschini, who, as secretary of state, had hitherto directed papal politics. During the preceding ten years, the other side had had no champion in particular, neither had they formulated any definite theory of action. The liberal cardinals now contented themselves with a general declaration that the introduction of state reforms, based on the principles of a progressive civilisation, was necessary, and the man who appeared to them pre-eminently adapted to carry out their ideas, was Cardinal Giovanni Mastai Ferretti, of Sinigaglia. At first, however, the party which favoured his election appeared much weaker than the opposition, but it gained influence through two convictions which always powerfully actuate all conclaves—the one was that the new Pontiff ought to be of different tendencies to his predecessor, the other that he ought to be a native of the Roman States. After the first polling, some of the partisans of Lambruschini, seeing the doubtful success of their candidate, determined to support Mastai, because, reckoning on the latter's yielding disposition, they hoped under his *régime*, to preserve the influence they had already acquired; thus, after only a three days' conclave, on the 16th of June, 1846, Giovanni Mastai was elected to fill the throne of St. Peter, under the title of Pius IX.

The new Pope was fifty-four years of age and, as governor of Imola, had given evidence of a kindly and lenient temper. At Imola he had lived on friendly terms with Count Giuseppe Pasolini, an enthusiastic liberal, and with him had also read and approved the *Primato* of Gioberti, the *Speranze d'Italia* of Balbo and the *Ultimi Casi di Romagna* of D'Azeglio: indeed it was said that Cardinal Mastai, when starting for the conclave, had carried these three books with him, as an offering to the



PIUS IX.
(*From a painting by Metzmach.*)

new successor to the popedom. His benevolent, smiling and open countenance, as well as his affable and courteous manners, immediately won all suffrages, and such popularity was well deserved, endowed as he was with great natural goodness of heart and animated by the best intentions. But good intentions are not a sufficient equipment for the man who is at the head of a state, especially at a momentous crisis. Successfully to face the condition of affairs just then, in the pontifical kingdom and in Italy generally, required a mental grasp and strength of will to which Pius IX. was quite a stranger, nor had he a clear notion of the very complicated political situation.

One of the most insistent and general demands that the various cities of the Papal States had pressed upon the late conclave by means of petitions, was that for an amnesty for political prisoners. A progressive step that had been taken throughout all Italy, in which the pontifical provinces alone had not shared, was the construction of railways. These points were the key to the programme which the new Pope had traced out, so that in an assembly of diplomatists, held during the first days of his new rule, Cardinal Ferretti, his cousin and mouthpiece, is reported to have said, to the then French ambassador, Pellegrino Rossi, "We shall have the amnesty and railways and all will be well."

On the 16th of July, 1846, just a month after his election, Pius IX. inaugurated his political career by granting a general amnesty to the condemned political prisoners. To the minds of Italians already prepared for such ideas by the 'Neo-Guelph' party it suddenly seemed as if Gioberti's ideal pontiff—the restorer of Italian liberty and greatness—had arisen. The nomination of a body of men commissioned to seek for and study the reforms needful in the States of the Church, gave some ground for the applause which the new Pope evoked; every time he went into the city, he was carried in triumph by a rejoicing crowd which, in the cry of "Long live Pius IX.," did but express the hopes and aspirations of all Italy. *Fêtes* succeeded one another on the smallest pretext and the people evinced their delight by constantly assembling in the public square and giving vent to their feelings by processions, shoutings and songs. These demonstrations found an enthusiastic leader in a citizen, named Angelo Brunetti, popularly nicknamed 'Ciceruacchio,' who exercised a very great ascendency over the Roman mob. At the same time, a Sicilian friar, Father Ventura, hymned from the pulpit the alliance between the priesthood and the democracy. The excitement in the capital spread to the country districts; a new tremor thrilled men's hearts and minds, like that by which all nature is stirred when the sun appears on the horizon.

Pius IX. delightedly surrendered himself to the sweets of popularity, but he was heard to observe that the people daily proffered some new request, and by degrees, the populace, rather than he, took the initiative in reforms. The liberty of the press, for instance, was usurped rather than conceded: from the January of 1847, political papers began to appear in Rome and Bologna—the two chief cities in the Papal States—and following closely on these, were founded clubs which instigated and regulated public demonstrations.

Whilst the routes for railway lines were being studied, the Pope, in April, 1847, announced the formation of a 'Council of State,' with a deliberate vote on taxation; it was to be composed of four-and-twenty lay councillors chosen by the Pontiff out of *ternes* or lists of three persons, presented by the provincial assemblies. This was a great step in advance, since, up till then, the laity had taken no part in state administration; indeed, Pius IX. probably thought, by this means, that he had now achieved the maximum of reforms.

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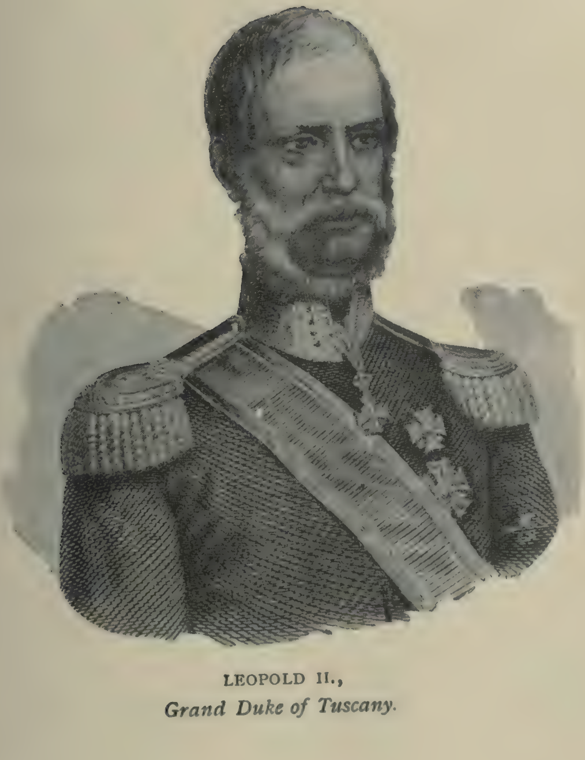
The popularity of the new Pontiff was soon general throughout the peninsula; every one declared that a new era was dawning for Italy. But this movement which seemed to have originated in Rome, had, in reality, its roots in the conscience of the nation; it was the voice of all Italy that now surged like the noise of the long pent-up waters of a mighty river which has burst its dams.

The first province to feel the effects of this upheaval was Tuscany. There it found chief expression in public demonstrations in the Pope's honour; then the passing of the great English economist, Richard Cobden, through Florence, was made a pretext for ostentatiously acclaiming the liberal principles he represented. Taking advantage



LEOPOLD II.,
Grand Duke of Tuscany.

of the leniency of the existing government, the advocates of the new ideas actually ventured on openly inviting the Grand Duke to follow the example of the Pope. Leopold II., weary of these ceaseless importunities and disgusted by the clandestine circulations of the press, decided, in the May of 1847, to promulgate a new and more comprehensive law in relation to the censorship—a concession that was the signal for the immediate appearance of important journalistic publications at Florence, Pisa and Leghorn. In Tuscany, by reason of the country's superior standard of culture and the existence of a more numerous *bourgeoisie*, journalism flourished much more than in Rome and rallied to its ranks the distinguished talents of such eminent men as the Sicilian, Giuseppe La Farina, the Tuscans, Atto Vannucci, Bettino Ricasoli, Vincenzo Salvagnoli, Giuseppe Montanelli, Domenico Guerrazzi, Mazzoni, Centofanti, Giorgini and many others. Spurred on by the press, the Tuscan government was rapidly impelled to introduce important judicial and administrative reforms.

Charles Albert in the meantime had been, so far, checked in his patriotic propensities by the fear of ecclesiastical censure; now he saw the Head of the Church outstripping him on the path of liberalism. Hence, he found in these same religious sentiments—which up till then had been regarded as obstacles in his course—a stimulus to pursue without hesitation that road wherein he had already taken some few and uncertain steps. However, in this revival of new life in Italy, he sought to divert the attention of his subjects from questions relating to political freedom, in order to turn and concentrate the whole force of public opinion against Austria.

In September, 1846, the eighth Scientific Congress was held at Genoa. In those days, when the excitement had mastered every one, this assembly aroused the keenest interest ; all the most learned men of the peninsula hastened to take part in it and indeed it was rightly called by Balbo " the first Italian parliament." Politics were discussed rather than science, and vent was given to earnest patriotic aspirations. The political question was all the more opportunely raised by the speakers, inasmuch as just a century had elapsed since the Genoese had revolted and driven the Austrians from the city. The members of the Congress paid a visit to the place where the insurrection had first broken out, and the Genoese citizens were inspired to keep a solemn celebration of the anniversary of the expulsion of the Austrians. This demonstration took place on the 5th of December and had a vociferous success, but strangely enough, on this occasion, the Piedmontese police seemed to have become suddenly afflicted with deafness.

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By the delirium of this fever which had attacked Italy, could be gauged the intensity of Italian hatred against Austria, and its development much alarmed Prince Metternich. The latter who declared a liberal pope to be an impossibility, made strenuous endeavours to check the pontifical court in its new career of reform, and gave hints to the governments of Florence and Turin to the same effect. However, the Austrian minister, seeing that the Grand Duke had unreservedly submitted to the guidance of the people's will and that his own friendly exhortations were unheeded both at Turin and Rome, had recourse to a bold threat. By the treaties of 1815, a body of Austrian troops had been quartered in the citadel of Ferrara—in papal territory; now, in the August of 1847, these troops, fully equipped for war, occupied the whole of the city.

Against this abuse of power, which aroused a torrent of indignation throughout the country, Pius IX. was urged by public opinion to an energetic protest, wherein he was supported by Charles Albert who was only too glad to find in the Pope an ally against their common oppressor. The effect of the Austrian policy on the Italian population was that of the lash on a restive horse, that is to say, the people became more intractable than ever. The excitement was simply indescribable; the Pope himself was expected to proclaim a holy war and to utter the cry of Julius II.: "Away with the barbarians!" The civic guard which had already been peremptorily demanded by the Roman and Tuscan press, was immediately organised in both states. The university students, only just home for the vacation, spread the patriotic contagion throughout the most remote country places. Long-standing feuds were made up between families and districts; on all sides was felt the need of forging a chain of brotherly love to bind men in a common cause, and everywhere were celebrated the *fêtes* of federation.

Charles Albert now resolved on giving more decisive expression to his sentiments. Early in September, 1847, an Agrarian Congress was held at Casale where such bold political speeches were made that the Piedmontese police feigned not to hear them. The last session of this assembly was marked by a memorable occurrence: the Count Di Castagneto, an intimate friend of Charles Albert, rose and read a letter that he had just received from the King, which ran as follows: "If ever God allows us to proclaim a war of independence, it is I alone who will take command of the army, and I have resolved to do in the Guelph cause that which Schamyl is doing against the great Russian Empire . . . Ah! what a blessed day will that be when we can raise the cry of national independence!" Thus did Charles Albert at last open his heart and mark out his life-programme. The enthusiastic acclamations of members of the Casale Congress understood it as well as all the inhabitants of Piedmont who, on the occasion of the the King going to lay the first stone of a bridge over the Bormida, near Acqui, flocked around the monarch and greeted him with an extraordinary ovation.

But at Genoa the demonstrations did not end in mere applause; rather were substantial hopes raised, although Turin still kept silent. It is true the capital also had warmly welcomed the patriotic words of the King, but now it wanted something more and looked for the latter to inaugurate such reforms as those already adopted by Pius IX. and the Grand Duke of Tuscany. Success was hoped for by adopting the means used by the Romans and Florentines to put pressure on their rulers—that is, popular demonstrations. On the evening of October 1, 1847, the eve of the King's birthday, a large crowd gathered in the Ripari promenade to sing the hymn of Pius IX., cry "God save the King!" and call for reforms, but they were suddenly interrupted by a body of guards and carabineers who attacked the mob and arrested the ringleaders.

It was a miserable surprise for the whole community. Had the King then repented of his liberal tendencies, and was he going back from his promised line of action? Was he indeed *Il Re Tentenna* ('King Waverer'), as the young poet, Domenico Carbone, dubbed him, in some verses written on that very October night? This little poem had immediate popularity and was a jesting comment on the perpetual inconsistency evident in Charles Albert's conduct—an inconsistency which led him to retain at the same time Count Solaro della Margherita, the most distinguished champion of reactionary ideas in Piedmont, as his minister for Foreign Affairs, and the Marquis di Villamarina, who was credited with being a liberal, as his minister of War. Charles Albert, too, read this unflattering effusion, and perhaps it inspired him to act with decision.

Diplomacy, as well as popular manifestations, tended to free the King from vacillation. At this juncture, Lord Minto, ostensibly travelling in Italy for amusement, but in reality as a secret emissary of the English government, arrived in Turin. He frankly counselled the Piedmontese monarch to have done with delays, to concede important reforms and to get rid of his reactionary advisers. A few days afterwards, Charles Albert dismissed both della Margherita and Villamarina, and caused a scheme of reforms to be drawn up, which appeared in the *Gazzetta Ufficiale* of the 30th of October.

Whoever to-day chances to read those four closely printed columns can hardly understand what an immense outburst of joy they called forth from the Piedmontese. They were, in fact, restricted enough innovations; the free election of communal and provincial councillors was decreed; the police-regulations and the administration of justice were improved and a limit was imposed on the censorship of the press. But, compared with the absolutism of the past, they represented a forward step in liberalism; besides, the bulk of the people had regarded the concession of reforms in itself as a universal panacea. Now they had the satisfaction of their desires, they looked for the inauguration of that golden age of which they had dreamed so long. To greet the auspicious event came an influx of illuminations, music, banners, *Te Deums*, inscriptions and the inevitable sonnets, songs and hymns. A few days later, when Charles Albert left Turin to stay a month, as was his custom, at Genoa, he was hailed throughout his journey by enthusiastic ovations, and even the Genoese who had always resented the domination of Piedmont and seemed to hanker after their ancient republic, awarded him a triumphal reception.

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Very differently did things progress in the kingdom of Naples. The election of Pius IX. had there, as elsewhere in Italy, awakened earnest hopes and aspirations, but King Ferdinand II. suddenly opposed the new tendencies, and made his subjects understand that he did not mean to bow down to the idol of the hour. Then the impatient and furious imprecations of the *bourgeoisie* found vent in an anonymous publication of which the police, luckily, failed to discover the author—Luigi Settembrini. In that tract, entitled *Protesta Del Popolo Delle Due Sicilie*, the shameless existing *régime* was thus set forth: "This government is an immense pyramid whose base is composed of police-agents and priests and whose apex is the King. Every *employé*, from the soldier to the general, from the *gendarme* to the minister of police, from the priest to the King's confessor, every petty clerk even, is a cruel despot and worse, over his inferiors, and a mean sycophant towards his superiors. Whence it happens that whosoever is not among the oppressors feels himself crushed on all sides by the vile tyranny of countless knaves, and the peace of mind, freedom and possessions of honest men are made to depend on the caprice—I will not even say of a prince or a minister—but of every subordinate official, of a courtesan, of a spy, or of a Jesuit. Oh, my brothers and compatriots, deem not this language is too strong; do not assert in the press that we ought to speak with more prudence and moderation, but come amongst us and feel as we feel this wrong that, like a red-hot iron, sears and eats into our hearts; sympathise with our sufferings and write and advise us." Numerous enough were such anonymous protests against the existing order of things, but all voiced the widespread tendency towards revolution and it was felt that the suppression of such long-endured wrongs could only be accomplished by violent means.

On the 1st of September, 1847, the revolt broke out simultaneously at Reggio and Messina. At the latter place, towards evening, about fifty resolute, daring spirits raised the cry of "Italy, Pius IX., and the Constitution for ever!" and determined on surprising the officials—assembled at a banquet—but the latter had already taken refuge in the citadel. The troops pursued through the streets the handful of insurgents who, after a desperate resistance, dispersed, and sought safety in flight. At Reggio di Calabria, victory had favoured the rebels from the outset. Headed by Domenico Romeo, they obliged the fortress to surrender and formed a provisional government, but soon came the discouraging news of the unsuccessful movement at Messina. Then two royal vessels from Naples appeared on the scene, bombarded the city and disembarked soldiers. The revolutionists were obliged to abandon Reggio and take refuge in the mountains of Aspromonte where they persisted in the struggle for nearly a month, but, having been tracked to their last remaining defences, the majority were arrested. Domenico Romeo being wounded, had sheltered himself in a straw-rick, but was dislodged and killed. Thus these revolts had no other result than the initiation of fresh and fiercer persecutions, such as the Neapolitan princes of the House of Bourbon knew too well how to plan, and their agents, to carry out.

Meantime, the reforms granted by the Grand Duke of Tuscany and Charles Albert were but feeding the flame already kindled in men's minds, and in November demonstrations took place at Naples and Palermo. In the following month, the most distinguished Piedmontese and Romagnol liberals thought of addressing a petition to Ferdinand II. to induce him to pursue the policy of Pius IX., Leopold II. and Charles Albert. The demands of such signatories would to-day be regarded as anything but exacting, but at least they showed to the world that Italy had recourse to the moderate policy of persuasion before resorting to that of violence. Ferdinand II. must indeed have smiled with contempt at this document, so little calculated to appeal to him, but to quench effectually all further agitation, he forbade the cry "Long live Pius the Ninth!" to be raised in his dominions, for this magic watchword which not only represented, but was a factor in developing the future, was naturally considered seditious in all places where the *régime* of the past was to be preserved intact.

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At Modena, Francis IV., the betrayer of Ciro Menotti, had been dead since January, 1846, but the wretched government of this duchy was hardly ameliorated under his son and successor, Francis V. At the first demonstrations in the Pope's favour, the ducal troops used arms against the crowd, and Francis V. made known to his subjects that if his bullies were not enough to keep the liberals in check, he had beyond the Po an entire army at his beck and call. In fact, shortly afterwards, at the Duke's own request, Austrian soldiers entered his states in order to prevent any manifestations of liberalism.

Much the same deplorable condition of affairs prevailed in Parma and Piacenza. Advancing age had impressed Maria Louise, Napoleon's widow, with the necessity of doing penance for her many sins ; she therefore allowed friars and priests to hold unlimited sway in the dukedom. On her death in December, 1847, her successor, Charles Louis of Bourbon, already Duke of Lucca, immediately invited a body of Austrian troops to enter his territory, in order clearly to show his subjects his intentions.

As to the Lombardo-Venetian States, Austria had set herself to 'germanise' them in vain. There two elements existed which could never amalgamate, in the Austrian oppressors and the Italian oppressed and, by degrees, the latter allowed their bitter feelings to find vent. At Milan the most complete representative of this epoch was Cesare Correnti, whilst the heart and soul of all patriotic aspirations in Venice was Daniele Manin.

The enthusiasm for Pius IX. had naturally obtained also in the Austrian subject-provinces who seized every possible occasion of making pacific protests against the foreign yoke, in the expectancy that new developments would admit of a more strenuous line of action. The first Milanese demonstration of the kind took place on the occasion of the funeral of Count Federico Confalonieri, who had died in a Swiss village, December 10, 1846, eight years after his release from Spielberg. In 1847, the ninth scientific congress was held at Venice, and Daniele Manin profited by the occasion to fan the flame of independence throughout Venetia and to strengthen the ties which bound her to the other provinces. On the 5th of September of the same year, the new archbishop of Milan, Count Romilli, made his solemn entry into the city. An Italian by birth, he had succeeded the Austrian prelate, Gaisruch, and had been nominated by Pius IX.—a fact which sufficed to make his reception the occasion for great *fêtes* and popular rejoicings. Three days later on the feast of the Madonna, the illuminations were repeated amid the renewed enthusiasm of the populace and frequent cries of "Long live Pius the Ninth!" but, at a given signal, pre-instructed *gendarmes* attacked the crowd with drawn sabres and dealt blows among them, by which one person was killed and several wounded. This tyrannous action of the authorities and the police helped much to unite all classes of society in closer bonds of sympathy, so that now against Austria there was a universally agreed enmity.

The Austrian government had caused two Central Congregations to be formed, one for Lombardy and the other for Venice, empowered to present petitions to the administration. Now in December, 1847, Councillor Nazzari, a native of Bergamo, preferred a request to the Lombardy Congregation, urging the nomination of a commission for drawing up a report on the condition of the country and the causes of popular discontent, and this proposal was approved by the Congregation. No sooner had Daniele Manin procured a copy than he caused it to be printed and circulated in the province of Venetia, and himself presented an analogous one to the Venetian Central Congregation. At the same time, the distinguished *littérateur*, Niccolò Tommaseo, made a speech at the *Ateneo* of Venice, expressing the wish for a more comprehensive legislation on the censorship. Confronted by these agitations which continually increased, the Austrian governor redoubled his vigilance and severity.

In a word, Italy, at the beginning of 1848, seemed divided into two parties who were proceeding on widely diverse methods. In the Pontifical States, Tuscany and Piedmont, the carrying out of reforms was accompanied by festivals, demonstrations and popular rejoicings—nay, it became possible to initiate a customs league between these three states which was in itself the first step towards a political federation. But in the kingdom of Naples, the Lombardo Venetian States and the duchies of Modena and Parma, the most severe reactionary policy was maintained. It can thus be easily understood how these provinces would form the hot-bed of the revolution.

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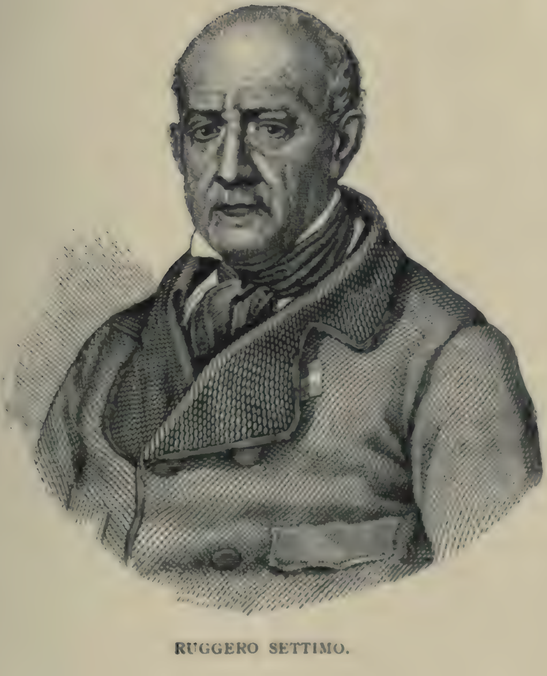
Singularly enough the first shock of revolt proceeded from the volcanic soil of Sicily. In the beginning of January, 1848, a bold proclamation was posted up at all the street-corners and public places in Palermo, asserting that the time for entreaties and pacific demonstrations was at an end and embodying an invitation to all Sicilians to arm on the 12th of January, the birthday of the 'King of the Two Sicilies.' This manifesto was, needless to say, anonymous; only after the outbreak of the revolution, was it known to be the work of a young sculptor, Francesco Bagnasco.

At first the police derided the movement as mere brag. However, on the night of the 9–10th of January, they adopted the precaution of arresting eleven of the most prominent liberals, including Francesco Perez, Gabriele and Emerico Amari and Francesco Ferrara. The military also took what they deemed necessary measures in the matter. It is wonderful that it should have been possible not only for the rising to break out, but for it to become irrepressible and end in victory, after so much careful prevision on the part of the government, whilst there was hardly any serious preparation on the side of the revolutionists who reckoned chiefly on the prevailing state of feeling and on what chance, which so often develops isolated *émeutes* into gigantic revolutions, held in store. Besides, it was under just such conditions, without any preconceived plan, that the famous revolt of the Sicilian Vespers had taken place, as indeed the distinguished historian, Michele Amari, in writing of that period—proving the legend of Giovanni Da Procida to be groundless—has very justly pointed out. When revolution germinates in the conscience of the people, it breaks forth spontaneously.

No one, however, would have hoped for such a



RUGGERO SETTIMO.

result on that January morning. The citizens thronged the public ways; the police had verified their precautions, but vainly sought for the expected armed bands and the heads of the revolutionary movement. The anxiety was painfully intense, but about eight a.m., a young man, who had gone out alone, but furnished with weapons, into one of the most frequented thoroughfares of Palermo, called out 'Treason!' and nearly desperate, discharged his musket into the air. Then the most courageous citizens poured, ready armed, into the streets, whilst others began to ring the bells as a signal for the fighting to begin. The Bourbon military commanders did not dare let the troops out of the fortresses and barracks, and decided to restrict themselves to defensive action. During the night, other revolutionary bands came in from the country districts and neighbouring communes to the aid of the insurgents. The Neapolitan troops bombarded the city from the forts; the citizens, in their turn, attacked and conquered several barracks, then, inspirited by success, organised a provisional government under the presidency of the venerable admiral, Ruggero Settimo.

The fighting was prolonged throughout the following days, and with ever-growing victory for the revolutionists whose ranks were hourly strengthened. Neither the men-of-war sent from Naples nor the continued bombardment from the fortresses could subdue Palermo. Hence, after a fortnight's sanguinary struggle, the Bourbon soldiers were compelled to abandon the city. The other Sicilian towns now followed the example of Palermo so that at the beginning of February, the whole island, with the exception of a few strongholds, had shaken off the yoke of despotism.

Encouraged by the news from Sicily, Naples now began to move; a petition for the concession of a constitution, drawn up by Ruggero Bonghi, was circulated among the Neapolitans, and on the 27th of January, in spite of all police precautions, a great demonstration boldly perambulated the city thoroughfares. Then Ferdinand II., seeing his crown in danger, pretended to grant of his own free will that which he dared not refuse any longer and promised his subjects the desired constitution (January 28th).

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The vicissitudes of Southern Italy precipitated matters in the other Italian provinces, notably in Piedmont, where early in January, new and more explicit demands had been urged at the palace. Gioberti had, by this time, published his scathing book entitled *Il Gesuita Moderno* and his words immediately found an echo in the hearts of all Italian liberals. Indeed, there was a universal desire for the expulsion of the Jesuits and their affiliated religious houses—in particular, that community of the ‘Ladies of the Sacred Heart,’ whose members the Tuscans used playfully to call the ‘Jesuit swallows.’ At Genoa, a public petition was set on foot to implore Charles Albert to expel the Society and to allow the institution of a civic guard, such as had already been doing duty, for some months past, in Tuscany and Rome: to this end, a commission was sent to prefer these requests to the King. Then the Turinese journalists convened a meeting, to consider a means of backing up the Genoese claims. The splendid roll of names which distinguished that assembly of January 7, 1848, included those of Camillo Cavour, Michelangelo Castelli, Pietro Derossi di Santarosa, Carlo Boncompagni, Ercole Ricotti, Lorenzo Valerio, Riccardo Sineo, Angelo Brofferio, Giacomo Durando, Predari, Montezemolo, Galvagno and Cornero. Whilst the majority of those present only spoke of expressing their solidarity with the Genoese commission, the editor of the *Risorgimento* openly declared that henceforth something more must be asked for and that was—the constitution.

This bold proposal which demonstrated its author's profound knowledge of the serious condition of existing affairs, emanated from a man of thirty-eight years of age, belonging to the ancient aristocracy of Piedmont, who, in his youth, had been a sub-lieutenant in the corps of engineers and, after his resignation of that post, had travelled in France and England and was now devoted to journalistic pursuits—no other, in fact, than Count Camillo Benso Di Cavour. Among his hearers were men who, either through instinct, education or by their position in journalism, were of pronounced liberal tendencies, but they looked at one another in amazement at hearing this proposition. A few indeed offered objections, and the assembly was prorogued till the following evening.

Meantime, an important event had happened: the King had refused to receive the Genoese deputation. But none the less, the journalists who had approved of

Cavour's idea, adhered to their resolution and, at the second meeting, signed a memorial to this intent, which the Marquis Roberto D'Azeglio, an elder brother of Massimo and an equally conspicuous champion of liberalism, undertook to present to the King in person. Charles Albert read the document and pondered its candid yet loyal tenor, but replied that, for the liberation of Italy, soldiers, not lawyers, were needful and that, in the interests of Italian independence which he now had most nearly at heart, he would never grant a constitution.

But at this juncture came the news of the revolt at Palermo on the 12th of January, then that of the King of Naples' promised constitution. Whereupon, great demonstrations were held at Turin, and on the 5th of February, the municipality itself, instigated by Pietro Derossi Di Santarosa, the tried friend of Cavour, deliberated on asking the King for a constitution. Meanwhile, Charles Albert, after having confessed and communicated, unburdened his mind to Monsignor D'Angennes, Archbishop of Vercelli. This ecclesiastic who was a very holy man, overcame the religious scruples of the monarch, and on the 8th of February, 1848, Charles Albert promised the Statute and fixed its main lines. From the 8th of February till the 4th of March, the day on which the Statute was promulgated, there was little else in Piedmont but a continual succession of fervent demonstrations in the King's favour. And richly did Charles Albert merit his people's affection, because, unlike the other princes who promised with mental reservations, he, having once conquered his wavering tendency and set his foot upon the path of constitutionalism, pursued it thenceforward with the utmost loyalty to the end.

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It was a strange game of battledore and shuttlecock to which public opinion in Italy abandoned itself in the first months of 1848. The news from Naples and Piedmont called forth imposing demonstrations in Tuscany, and the Florentine municipality, at that time presided over by Bettino Ricasoli, immediately decreed a laudatory address to Charles Albert. All the most eminent Tuscan liberals now insisted on the Grand Duke granting a constitution, and this, on the 11th of February, Leopold II. promised to do.

Henceforth, Rome, who had given the first impetus to this movement, found herself quickly outstripped by the other states. Pius IX. was very far from being the ideal pontiff that the Italians had imagined. He had simply wished to better the condition of his subjects and had never dreamed of becoming the herald of a revolution, and now that he saw the progress affairs were making, he would have gladly turned back, but he was irresistibly drawn on by the very stream he had himself set free. The people who had become aware of their ruler's vacillation, affected to cast the blame on his *entourage* and the Jesuits, and now cried, "Long live Pius IX. only!" On the 1st of January, 1848, a great crowd assembled at the Quirinal where the Pope then resided, in order to give him a new year's greeting, but finding the gates barricaded and the palace surrounded by guards, they were not slow to vent their ill-humour. On the morrow, Pius IX. appeared in the city once more, for the purpose of appeasing this mistrust, and met with a most enthusiastic reception.

The 12th of February saw the formation of the first lay-ministry in the Papal States. Nor did this suffice; in these provinces also the idea of a constitution had taken root, and the communal council of Bologna went so far as to demand the concession openly. To fix the limitations between ecclesiastical and secular affairs was certainly a matter of difficulty, but all considerations, debates and delays thereon were suddenly cut short by the news of the outbreak of the Paris revolution which had at one blow, despoiled Louis Philippe of his throne. So it was that on the 14th of March, 1848, Pius IX. granted a constitution to his subjects.

Thus all Italy, except the territory ruled by Austria, now found herself on the way to freedom.

X

THE WAR OF 1848

THE inhabitants of the Lombardo-Venetian States intended keeping the new year with demonstrations of their own; on the 1st of January, 1848, all citizens were invited to abstain from smoking and thus to damage the interests of the Austrian government which possessed a tobacco monopoly. The warm response which this invitation met with at Milan provoked the unbounded wrath of the Austrian police; on the 2nd of January, their disguised agents paraded the streets with lighted cigars, blowing mouthfuls of smoke in the faces of the passers-by and otherwise annoying them. Such proceedings were naturally resented by the Milanese and led to disputes and arrests. But the affair assumed a far more serious aspect on the morrow, when brandy and cigars were liberally distributed to the soldiers who were then despatched through the public thoroughfares, with orders to enforce smoking among the citizens by threats and, if necessary, by use of arms. The evening of the 3rd of January was a terrible one in Milan: quarrels had been fomented in every quarter of the city by drunken soldiers and, as if this were not enough, mounted troops continually galloped to and fro, trampling on the fallen and prodding with lances all those who did not take to flight—slaughtering in this way no less than fifty-nine persons.

Whilst all Italy stood aghast at the news of such a massacre, the Austrian government boldly pursued its way and initiated similar scenes of bloodshed at Pavia and Padua, refused to nominate the commissions demanded by the Lombard and Venetian Congregations and, at Venice, effected the arrest of Daniele Manin and Niccolò Tommaseo, thus adding fresh fuel to the flame of popular indignation. To increase the ferment, came sundry startling pieces of news—first that of the Sicilian revolt, then that of the constitution granted by Ferdinand II. and the Statute of Charles Albert. Hereupon Austria, proceeding to extremities, proclaimed a state of siege in the Lombardo-Venetian States and set up sanguinary tribunals, by which the authorities could condemn without appeal and inflict the death-penalty on their own responsibility. The citizens, on their part, prepared for revolution by collecting money and arms and by establishing closer connections with Charles Albert and the Piedmontese liberals. It can indeed be said that in Lombardy and Venetia, governors and governed stood confronting each other, as enemies awaiting the signal for the fray.

The French revolution precipitated matters; its vibrations awoke faith in the irresistible force of the barricade, and struck a responsive chord in all Italian hearts which were electrified by the brilliant victory gained in Paris. But the decisive blow which hurried on the revolt came whence it was least expected. Vienna itself, that rock of absolutism, had not been able to escape the revolutionary throes which were convulsing all Europe; on the 13th of March, the Viennese populace rose and demanded the constitution, and Prince Metternich was obliged to take flight.

By the 17th of March, the news of this revolution had reached Venice where it produced a remarkable outburst of enthusiasm: the people repaired *en masse* to the piazza of St. Mark, loudly clamouring for the liberation of the political prisoners, especially of Manin and Tommaseo, then, without waiting for the authorities' answer, rushed to the prisons and triumphantly released the two patriots. On the morrow feeling had risen still higher, tricoloured banners were raised amid the loud ringing of tocsins, and the struggle was actually about to break out between the soldiers and the crowd when the municipality, to prevent bloodshed, begged permission from the government representatives to organise a civic guard. To this request, Palffy, the civil governor, and Zichy, the military commandant, consented. Meantime, it was made known that the Emperor had granted a constitution in Vienna, the announcement of which Palffy himself read to the crowd from the balcony of his palace, declaring, at the same time, his satisfaction at being the first constitutional governor of Venice. Thereupon the tumult was appeased and the city resumed its wonted aspect; it seemed indeed as if all fear of disturbance was at an end.

Affairs were taking a very different turn in Milan. On hearing of the Viennese revolution, a nucleus of patriots had, on the afternoon of the 18th of March, combined to form a municipal deputation which, followed by a great crowd, proceeded to the governor's palace to beg for urgent reforms. The Viceroy, Rainer, had fled, but O'Donnell, the vice-president, signed, in the presence of the enraged mob, the desired decrees, by which the civic guard was to be formed and the municipality commissioned with providing for the public safety. However, whilst this deputation was returning to the municipal palace, a volley from a troop of soldiers killed one of the crowd, and the sight of blood was the signal for the outbreak of the already hatched revolt which now spread throughout the length and breadth of the city. Barricades were everywhere erected—to the number, it is said, of five hundred and twenty-three — tables, chairs, vehicles, even the very paving-stones of the streets, were utilised for the defence; all had recourse to arms, and one idea only possessed Milan—and that was the expulsion of the Austrians.

It is impossible to describe that feverish contest, maintained simultaneously in every quarter of the city during those ever-memorable days; it may truly be said that every street had its own heroic episode, as every house had its own hero. Youths, old men and children, all did their share: women encouraged the combatants and succoured the wounded; the clergy, too, took their part in the struggle. With the rattle of the musketry and the thunder of the artillery mingled the incessant tolling of the bells which, for five days and five nights in succession, clanged threateningly over the heads of the enemy, as if voicing the popular fury.

On the 20th of March, Radetzky, the Austrian general in command, proposed an armistice which was refused; on the 21st, his troops were expelled from all their posts within the city, but the fortress and walls were still in their hands; on the 22nd, it was decided to break through the enemy's cordon in order to establish communication with the country districts and the other revolted cities. To this end, the combatants engaged at Porta Tosa—now called Porta Vittoria. The fighting was prolonged and desperate, but when the young Luciano Manara set fire to the gate, Milan had won her freedom. From the highest spire of the cathedral floated the Italian tricolour, and it was now that the great poet, Alessandro Manzoni, flushed with the enthusiasm of the hour, added this final strophe to his ode, *Marzo, 1821*:—

"O giornate del nostro riscatto!
O dolente per sempre colui,
Che da lunge, dal labbro d'altrui,
Come un uomo straniero le udrà!
Che ai suoi figli narrandole un giorno
Dovrà dir sospirando; 'io non c'era,'
Che la santa, l'invitta bandiera
Salutata in quel dì non avrà."

(O day of Italia's glory!
Unhappy for aye is the brother
Who e'en from the lips of another,
As an alien, lists to that tale;
Who, telling his sons the glad story,
Shall say, with a sigh, "not for me,
Alas! 'mongst that cohort to be,
Who saw the blest standard prevail.")

Who can express the joy that was experienced on that memorable day by the citizens of Milan at expelling from their midst an army of fourteen thousand well-armed and thoroughly-disciplined men? And theirs was a glorious and untarnished triumph, for whilst the Austrians had been guilty of much barbarity, their foes, on the contrary, had behaved with the utmost generosity—a fact that one episode alone will prove. On the 20th of March, when the struggle was raging most fiercely, Count Bolza, head of the police, was hiding in an attic. Well must he have recalled how, many years before, he had arrested Count Confalonieri under almost identical circumstances: at any rate, the people who hated this contemptible satellite of Austria, were not slow to remember the fact and forthwith arrested him. The unhappy man believed his hour had come, but Carlo Cattaneo, a distinguished Milanese, being consulted by the crowd as to their victim's fate, answered: "If you kill him, you will do a just act; if you spare him, you will do a holy one"—a recommendation to mercy which prevailed with the mob.

Meantime, the revolution did not stop at Milan, but quickly spread throughout Lombardy, so that the Austrian troops, threatened on all sides, had to abandon their positions and fall back on the Mincio.

At Venice, after two days of tranquillity, it was suspected that the governor had been profuse in fair speeches to gain time to prepare for the city's bombardment—a suspicion which was further inflamed by the news of the insurrection at Milan. Now began a new *émeute* in which the commandant of the arsenal, Marinovich, unpopular with the workmen on account of his severity, was killed. Daniele Manin, followed by a numerous crowd, repaired to the arsenal, and by moral force alone effected its surrender to Admiral Martini. At the same time, the municipality, grasping the seriousness of the situation, sent a deputation to treat with the two Austrian governors. The civil governor, Palffy, handed over his authority to the military commandant, Zichy; the latter, intimidated by the resolute utterances of the advocate, Avesani, consented to evacuate the city, invest the municipality with his own powers and relinquish his claim to all munitions of war. So on the 22nd of March, 1848, the fall of Austrian dominion and the Venetian Republic were proclaimed together on St. Mark's piazza, whilst the presidency of the provisional government was entrusted to Daniele Manin.

Nearly the same thing happened in the other Venetian towns. The military commanders of Treviso and Udine capitulated as Zichy had done; those of the fortresses of Osoppo and Palmanova did likewise, and in the last-named place, the veteran General Zucchi, now set at liberty, was entrusted with the command. Other cities, like Padua, abandoned by their garrisons who went to join Radetzky's troops in the Quadrilateral, found themselves free, and only one Venetian city—Verona—remained under Austrian rule; the rest gave in their adhesion to the provisional government of Venice.

The Italian territory between the Mincio and the

Adige, with the fortifications of Mantua, Peschiera, Verona and Legnago, was now all that remained to the Austrians who, hemmed in by the insurrection, had no other way open but to retreat to the narrow valley of the Adige where they found themselves confronted by the Piedmontese army.

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Hardly was it known at Turin that Milan had revolted against the oppressor, than the Piedmontese were consumed by a fever of patriotism; people abandoned their dwellings, to live in the streets and market-places; schools, offices and business-houses were deserted, whilst a crowd assembled in front of the royal and ministerial palaces, demanding arms and clamouring for war. The bolder spirits equipped themselves for action and set off in the direction of the Ticino; on the 22nd of March, a large band of university students, organised into companies of *bersaglieri*, left for the frontier amid the acclamations of the crowd. On the afternoon of the 23rd, came, like a thunderbolt, the news that Milan was free, that the discomfited Austrians had retreated in the direction of the Quadrilateral, and that a Milanese messenger had reached Charles Albert to implore him to allow Piedmontese troops to enter Lombard territory.

The papers instantly began publishing suggestive supplements on the situation. In the *Risorgimento* appeared a forcible article by Camillo Cavour, which commenced in these terms: "The decisive hour for the monarchy has arrived—the hour of momentous decisions, on which hang an empire's fate and a people's destiny. In the face of what has happened in Lombardy and at Vienna, doubt, hesitation and delay are no longer possible for they would mean the most fatal policy. We men of phlegmatic temperament, who are accustomed to listen to the dictates of reason rather than to those of sentiment, have duly considered our determination and are in duty bound to declare it: only one way is open for the nation, the government and the King, and that is war—war, immediately and without delay."

The mob surrounded the royal palace in expectation of hearing the decision of the council of ministers which, it was well known, was engaged in deliberation. Hours passed and the crowd, instead of diminishing, became more and more dense. It was midnight when there appeared, on the famous balcony of the royal armoury, in a halo of light shed from the illuminated saloon beyond, the tall figure of Charles Albert. Over the tremulous and silent concourse of people he waved a scarf; it was the Italian tricolour! The enthusiasm of that moment can never be described: then it was that the dynasty of Savoy and the Piedmontese were indissolubly knit together by a solemn vow—that of mutual consecration to the liberation of Italy.

On the morrow, the following proclamation was published, which had been drawn up the preceding evening in the name of the King, by Federico Sclopis, minister of Grace and Justice: "People of Lombardy and Venetia! The destinies of Italy are ripe; happier omens favour the intrepid defenders of trampled rights. For the sake of our race, our knowledge of the times in which we live, and our community of interests, we would first of all associate ourselves in that unanimous tribute of admiration which Italy awards you. Our arms which were already concentrated on your frontier, when you anticipated the glorious liberation of Milan, are now in readiness to afford you that aid which brother expects from brother and friend from friend. Let us act in accordance with your praiseworthy desire, relying on the help of that God who is plainly with us—that God who has given to Italians a Pius IX. and has so truly inspired Italy to work out her own redemption. And the better to show by outward acts how deeply we share the sentiment of Italian unity, we command that when our troops enter Lombard and Venetian territory, they bear the Italian tricolour with the escutcheon of Savoy.

"'CHARLES ALBERT.'"

A few days later the Piedmontese army crossed the Ticino and triumphantly traversed Lombardy in the direction of the Mincio.

Meanwhile, a loud cry wherein freedom, joy, and battle were mingled, resounded throughout the peninsula. Modena and Reggio, Parma and Piacenza immediately all threw off the yoke of their princelings and despatched troops to the help of their brethren in Lombardy and Venetia. The Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Pope, carried away by the tide of popular feeling, found themselves obliged to send recruits to the holy war now about to be waged. Even the King of Naples was compelled to promise a reinforcement of fifteen thousand men, whilst Sicily, although struggling to maintain her own independence against the Bourbons and unable to distract her fighting-men from their main purpose, contributed some hundred volunteers for the national cause. All the youth of Italy flocked to the Lombard camp, chanting the inspiring hymn of the young Genoese poet, Goffredo Mameli:

"Fratelli d'Italia,
L'Italia s'è desta,
Dell' elmo di Scipio
S'è cinta la testa:
Dov'è la vittoria?
Le porga la chioma,
Chè schiava di Roma
Iddio la creò.
  Stringiamci a coorte,
  Siam pronti alla morte,
  L'Italia chiamò.
Noi siamo da secoli
Calpesti, derisi,
Perchè non siam popoli,
Perchè siam divisi:
Raccolgaci un' unica
Bandiera, una speme;
Di fonderci insieme
Già l'ora suonò. . . ."

(O brothers, your Italy
Wakes from her sleep,
The helmet of Rome
On her brows doth she keep:
Doth victory tarry?
She comes at our call,
For aye of us Romans
God made her the thrall.
  Let each valiant band
  To die ready stand,
  For Italia all!

We are held in derision,
We face the world's scorn,
Because by division
Our peoples are torn:
Let us trust in one hope,
In one flag, so our power
Shall thus front the hour
That now shall befall.)

During thirty centuries of Italian history, this was the first time that the whole peninsula had risen by a common impulse against a common foe: nothing like it had ever happened in ancient Rome, and the glorious episode of the communes had only belonged to one part of the country. But this wonderful agreement—this miracle so long desired by so many great Italians—had only been possible because the inviolable liberty of the Statute had secured to each citizen the right and the duty of making his voice heard in public affairs. The whole nation, evolved from the vicissitudes of so many centuries, now rose at last, conscious of her strength, and from Etna to the Alps, the tricoloured standard was hoisted to the oft and proudly-repeated cry of "*L'Italia farà da sè*" ("Italy will provide for herself").

Indeed the European situation was such that little help could be reckoned on from the other Powers, of whom two only showed themselves favourable—England and France. But the enthusiasm of English liberals had waxed somewhat faint since the Paris revolution of February, because they feared that this French movement might spread throughout Europe: however, England was disposed to favour the separation of Sicily from Naples, as she hoped thereby to gain commercial advantages from the new kingdom whose gratitude would be duly assured. As to the French Republic, it was not willing to aid in the foundation of a great kingdom in North Italy, as such intervention would tend to make France distrusted by the Italian monarchical governments, especially that of Charles Albert. Italy thus had to work out her own unity, but to carry out her noble purpose, a complete, sincere and lasting accord between her princes and peoples was necessary. As a matter of fact, all her rulers were not in agreement with their subjects, much less among themselves. With the exception of the King of Sardinia, none of the other princes were inclined for war: Pius IX. wavered between patriotism and the general interests of Catholicism; the Grand Duke of Tuscany, an Austrian, viewed with suspicion Charles Albert's ambitious policy, and most of all was the King of Naples ill-disposed to fight, as he now showed by suddenly delaying the departure of his battalions. When the trial by fire came, that which was strong and true bore the test, whilst that which was spurious and worthless was separated as dross from the gold.

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Once more the destinies of Italy had to be decided in that famous Quadrilateral—marked by the four fortresses of Peschiera and Mantua on the Mincio, and Verona and Legnago on the Adige—which may be considered as the classic Italian battlefield. At the beginning of April, the Piedmontese troops began to come in sight of the enemy on the banks of the Mincio, and in the first skirmishes, succeeded in mastering the position on the river by occupying the bridges between Mantua and Peschiera.

The Piedmontese army was inspired by that strongly warlike spirit which had been, for centuries, the traditional inheritance of Piedmont; it was disciplined and devoted to the King as well as to the cause for which it fought, and had excellent subalterns, moreover, who served to familiarise the common soldiers with their superiors. The Piedmontese officers were distinguished by bravery and gallantry, but unfortunately had somewhat neglected the art of war, and were too apt to think that everything depended on personal courage—a false military principle which was cherished by nearly all the officers during the war and shared even by the King himself.

Charles Albert, following the traditions of his house, assumed the chief command, but by reason of his temperament, was ill-adapted to lead an army: that constant vacillation which had so often caused his political conduct to be doubted and distrusted, now made him irresolute and hampered in action, at a crisis when prompt and energetic measures were supremely necessary. General Carlo Di Salasco, a good and cultivated man, but lacking enterprise and capacity for leadership, was chosen as head of the staff. The best general possessed by the Piedmontese army was Eusebio Bava, the commandant of the first army corps, and an educated and clear-headed soldier, but he failed to imbue the King with his own sentiments. Unfortunately, Charles Albert, with few plans of his own, was always borrowing projects and proposals from those who surrounded him, and thus, adopting ideas from first one and then another, only succeeded in making a futile amalgamation of the same. Neither was his cool and impassive courage contagious enough to inspire the soldiers to dash headlong into the fray, in spite of the fact that he himself was ever ready to stand in the forefront of the battle where he would silently remain, impervious to the bullets that hailed around him, displaying a *sangfroid* that evoked warm and general admiration.

By the second half of April, sixty thousand Piedmontese, six thousand Tuscans and three thousand Modenese and Parmese were at Charles Albert's disposal on the banks of the Mincio, as well as seventeen thousand pontifical troops—who, under General Giovanni Durando, had arrived on the banks of the lower Po—and four or five thousand Lombard volunteers who were trying to enter Tyrol from the side of the Lake of Garda: there were, in fact, about ninety thousand men in all, without reckoning the bands of Venetian insurgents and the Neapolitan army yet on the march.

Radetzky, however, in consequence of losses incurred through skirmishes, capitulations and desertions, had seen the number of his army reduced to fifty thousand men, whilst owing to the spread of the insurrection, his communication with Austria was now limited to the valley of the Adige. This disheartened and demoralised army, surrounded on all sides by the enemy, seemed on the eve of annihilation. Contrary to all expectation, however, it triumphed, because, besides being well disciplined, it had, owing to previous annual manœuvres, obtained a thorough knowledge of the ground to be covered, and possessed an excellent commander in Marshal Radetzky who, in spite of his eighty-two years, displayed phenomenal strength of both mind and body.

Charles Albert, unwilling to deviate from the established rule of strategics, began to invest Peschiera, the nearest of the four Quadrilateral fortresses, with his Mincio army, and in order to intercept communication between this stronghold and Verona, tried to force some of the enemy's positions between the Mincio and the Adige; in fact, on the 20th of April, he advanced as far as Pastrengo, to the north of Verona. Pleased with the successful result of this *coup*, he determined to attack Verona itself, all the more readily because it was reported that the inhabitants were ripe for revolt. On the 6th of May, he fought his way as far as the village of Santa Lucia, but the expectation of a rising was not realised, and the Piedmontese, after performing many feats of heroism, had to retire. For some time, they devoted themselves to besieging Peschiera, but marches and countermarches and the monotony, anxiety and fatigue consequent on a siege, had now somewhat damped their ardour.

In the meantime, Radetzky, shut up in his redoubtable Quadrilateral, could quietly await the arrival of reinforcements headed by General Nugent, from the Isonzo. At the end of April, Nugent crossed this river, and leaving on one side Palmanova, defended by General Zucchi, made for Udine, and by speedy marches, arrived at the Piave without encountering any serious resistance. The pontifical troops, under Durando, were sent against the Austrians, but the engagement at Cornuda on the 8th of May did not impede the advance of Nugent who, by a rapid movement, tried to surprise Vicenza—without success, however, for Durando came to the help of the inhabitants. At all events, Nugent attained his end, for between Vicenza and Verona he joined his forces to those of Radetzky. The latter, taking into account the important strategic position of Vicenza, insisted on Nugent's army making another attempt to recover it, so, on the 23rd of May, it was subjected to a second attack which lasted a good part of the night: however, thanks to the precautions taken by Durando and the courage displayed by the soldiers and citizens, the Austrians were compelled to desist in their attempt and retreat to the Adige.

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In the meantime, important events were happening in other parts of Italy, especially in the Papal States. Strangely enough from Rome itself, whence the first shock had come to awaken the national conscience, came the first recoil. Pius IX. whose yielding disposition was averse to all difficult and dangerous enterprises, soon found himself seriously hampered in the way he had himself opened out. His adoption of the constitutional system had given rise to an actual struggle between himself and his ministers;

the latter aimed at making him say more than he meant, whilst the Pope tried to retract much of what he had already said. The outbreak of the war had thrown him into the utmost embarrassment for the reactionaries intimidated him with the bugbear of a new German schism; thus it was that he ultimately decided to retire from the contest. On the 29th of April, without having previously imparted his intention to his ministers, he read an allocution in the consistory, wherein he frankly declared that, as the earthly representative of the God of Peace, he could not favour war and that his paternal embrace included Austrians and Italians alike. His words provoked serious tumults in Rome; however, once more the Pontiff ceded to popular pressure, and the Roman troops who had already passed the Po and entered Venetian territory, continued to take part in the fighting, but clerical enthusiasm for the Italian cause was on the wane, and Gioberti's ideal of a pope-regenerator of Italy had vanished for ever.

The moral reaction initiated by the papal encyclical of the 29th of April found expression in the material reaction of the 15th of May in Naples. Owing to the lack of trade and industries, that *bourgeoisie*, which everywhere formed public opinion and was the mainstay of the new ideas, was much less numerous in the Neapolitan kingdom than in the rest of Italy, hence the constitutional government of the former was deficient in a solid basis. Only the force of circumstances had constrained the King of Naples to grant a constitution and send an army

—under General Guglielmo Pepe—to the field of action in Lombardy. But Ferdinand II. intended to take as much as he had conceded and to recall his soldiers from a war in which he had no interest. Therefore mistrust soon sprang up between the liberals and the King—a mistrust that daily increased. In the middle of April, the revolutionary party received a stimulus in the announcement that the Sicilian parliament had declared the supremacy of the Bourbon throne in their island at an end for ever. On the other hand, to confirm the King in his reactionary policy, came the papal allocution of the 29th of April. Thenceforward, only an opportunity was lacking for the outbreak of hostilities between the King and the party of progress, and this was easily found at the opening of parliament on the 15th of May.

A dispute arose between the court and the deputies, with respect to the formula of the oath to be observed, which led to the citizens arming themselves in support of the deputies. King Ferdinand who desired nothing better, now let loose upon them his still loyal soldiers as well as the *lazzaroni:* and when by this act parliament was dissolved and all rioting was suppressed, smilingly remarked: "I have also made my demonstration." With this royal 'demonstration' of the 15th of May, 1848, was the counter-revolution inaugurated in Europe, from which date the revival of a past which had apparently disappeared for ever, seemed again possible.

This *coup d'état* likewise diminished the probability of a successful nationalist campaign, for Ferdinand had suddenly sent orders to recall General Guglielmo Pepe and his army who had already reached Ferrara. But Pepe, that veteran of Italian liberalism, chose to resign rather than obey the royal command, and then sought to induce the army to follow him beyond the Po. Only a few hundred men responded, but, arriving in Venetia when it had nearly all been reconquered by Austria, they repaired to Venice.

Thus began the estrangement of the princes from the national cause, but even among the different Italian peoples, the wonderful concord of earlier days had ceased to exist. The various provinces had for so long been parted by such wide and radical distinctions, that the first attempt at amalgamation of such jarring elements was bound to prove abortive. At the outset, the idea of independence and nationality had prevailed over every other feeling, but after the first successes of the campaign, when the struggle with the foreigner had become more pronounced, aspirations after a greater political freedom assumed a more local, that is to say, provincial, development. Parma and Modena had certainly set the example of immediate annexation with Piedmont, but Venice had resuscitated the republic of St. Mark, and at Milan the more advanced liberals were agitating against the Piedmontese ideal of union and, even after the annexation was approved (June 10th), constantly raised vexatious disputes, inspired by municipal jealousy, *apropos* of the capital of the new kingdom. Naturally, these disagreements did not fail to find an echo in the ranks of the army.

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After the battle of Santa Lucia, Charles Albert who had set his heart on besieging Peschiera, concentrated his forces between the latter place and Verona, thus enfeebling his right wing so that only six thousand Tuscan soldiers were encamped around Mantua. Radetzky intended to fall upon and crush these troops before they could obtain aid, then to follow the right bank of the Mincio and hem in the Piedmontese army between this river and the Adige: by this means, Peschiera could easily have been replenished with both men and provisions. On the 27th of May, therefore, whilst the Piedmontese were devoting their attention to investing the above-mentioned fortress which seemed on the point of surrender, Radetzky marched out of Verona with thirty-five thousand men in the direction of Mantua, and on the 29th of May, encountered the Tuscan troops near the villages of Curtatone and Montanara. The Austrians met with a vigorous resistance throughout the day; even the youthful students of the universities of Pisa and Siena, who fought under the leadership of their professors, behaved like heroes. Radetzky, who had at his disposal forces so superior in numbers, finally won the battle, but the opposition of the Tuscan troops had been so unexpectedly prolonged, that the Piedmontese army had been able to mass itself on the Mincio; in fact, when the Austrian marshal attempted an attack on the bridge of Goito, the next day, he was repulsed. It was at Goito, during the enemy's retreat, that Charles Albert received the good news of the capitulation of Peschiera. This twofold victory re-awakened enthusiasm in the popular mind, but these were the last Italian successes in the campaign of 1848.

Peschiera having been taken, Charles Albert, still adhering to the petty rules of ancient strategics, intended concentrating his army at Mantua—the other fortress on the Mincio. But Radetzky, more daring and inventive, wished to animate the depressed courage of his men after the defeat of Goito and, leaving barely six thousand soldiers in the fortress to cheat his opponents, he, with the greater part of his army, attacked that of General Durando in Venetian territory. Once more a gallant struggle was waged round Vicenza, but finally, Durando was obliged to capitulate (June 11th) and the garrison were only allowed to leave the city with their arms and belongings on condition that they would not fight against Austria for the space of three months.

Radetzky, anxious to complete the subjugation of Venetia, sent troops to occupy Padua and Treviso; soon after, Palmanova also fell into the hands of the Austrians. Thus, throughout the Venetian province, only Venice and the fortress of Osoppo—one in the midst of her lagoons, the other on its rock at the foot of the Alps—continued to float the Italian tricolour. In the face of the Austrian victories, the Venetians decided to entrust their fate to Charles Albert, and on the 4th of July, in obedience to the stern necessity of the hour, they deliberated on the advisability of fusion with Piedmont: Daniele Manin himself invited his party to sacrifice their republican ideal for the sake of promoting the triumph of the cause of independence.

At this juncture, Sicily, who was still maintaining her resistance against Naples, offered her crown to Charles Albert's second son, the Duke of Genoa, but if such a step facilitated the aggrandisement of the Sardinian states, it none the less involved Piedmont in serious embarrassment, for, engaged in the war against Austria, she did not want to embroil herself as well with the Neapolitan Bourbons. Hence, the Duke of Genoa, acting on his father's advice, took time for consideration: his acceptance of the Sicilian throne depended on the issue of the war of independence, and that issue was already seriously compromised.

Charles Albert now found himself single-handed in the struggle: the King of Naples' army had already retired; the pontifical troops had capitulated at Vicenza; the Tuscan force had been nearly annihilated at Curtatone and Montanara; the Lombard volunteers, attempting to invade Tyrol, had been repulsed and were now awaiting reorganisation, whilst Venice, instead of sending aid, was asking it for herself. The *morale* of the Piedmontese army was lowered: those troops who could boast of having been nearly always victorious, now saw no decisive advantage resulting from their many engagements, and were still on the banks of the Mincio where their enthusiasm of the preceding April had given place to the enervating tedium incurred by the siege of Mantua. Through the malaria induced by the neighbouring marshes, several thousand soldiers were invalided in the hospital. In fact, Charles Albert could not count upon more than sixty-five thousand men, whilst Radetzky had augmented the number of his troops by reinforcements to seventy-five thousand. Those sixty-five thousand Piedmontese formed an immense line from the high tableland of Rivoli (north of Verona) to the environs of Mantua where the King had the flower of his army. Naturally, this extensive line was weak in several places, nor was it possible to concentrate the strength necessary for its defence. The Austrian marshal proposed to break the centre of the enemy's line: they fought for three days, from the 23rd to the 25th of July, on the heights of Custoza (between the Mincio and the Adige), and there it was that the issues of this first campaign were decided. The commissariat which had been but ill-organised in the Piedmontese army, was at that time so defective that many regiments were not victualled at all; the heat was intense; the debilitated soldiery fell through sunstroke, thirst or want of food; yet in spite of all these drawbacks, four Piedmontese brigades held their own for three days against five Austrian army corps, but finally were compelled to beat an orderly retreat, and cross the Mincio.

Charles Albert ought now to have fallen back on Piacenza and thus put the Po between himself and the enemy, but he chose rather to divert his attention to the defence of Milan, so that it should not be said that he had abandoned this city. Unfortunately, after the March insurrection, the return of the Austrians had been deemed impossible and hence, no means of resistance had been organised, either on the Oglio or on the Adda. At no point from the Mincio to Milan was the King's army able to confront the enemy, and even the fighting which took place under the walls of the city itself on the 4th of August, was unfavourable to the Piedmontese.

At the opening of the campaign, Charles Albert had not meant to enter Milan till he could do so in triumph after a decisive victory. Sadly different was the visit he now made to the one of which he had dreamed: no huzzas and acclamations were heard; anger and desperation were the feelings uppermost in all men's minds; barricades blocked the streets; tocsins tolled ominously, whilst the population seemed disposed to make a resolute defence and to renew the glorious episodes of March.

But the generals judged all resistance to the Austrians to be impossible, and Charles Albert had to consummate the terrible sacrifice of signing the deed of capitulation. When, on the afternoon of the 5th of August, the news of this decision ran through the city, it produced the most widespread consternation. Part of the populace, distracted with terror and rage, even went so far as to accuse the monarch of treason. Then the King declared that if the Milanese had really determined to bury themselves under the walls of their city, he and his sons would remain and share their fate, but the municipality of Milan, apprehending the gravity of the issue at stake, ratified the capitulation treaty.

But meantime the tumult increased; an infuriated crowd surrounded the royal quarters in the Greppi palace, vociferating insults and imprecations against the much-tried monarch. In vain he attempted to speak from the balcony; the yells and invectives of that terrible mob, now exasperated by rage to the very utmost, only became louder. The King was obliged to withdraw for, whilst murderous cries resounded from without, shots were fired against the palace windows. Indeed his peril was extreme, for to show his confidence in the Milanese, he had left his army outside the walls, only reserving a limited escort of carabineers. Finally, a regiment of his *bersaglieri*, hearing of their monarch's dangerous position, came to his rescue, and the crowd dispersed without offering any resistance.

It was nearly midnight—the darkness only relieved by the lurid flames of burning houses which had been fired so that they might not furnish a shelter for the enemy, the silence that reigned everywhere in Milan only broken by a stray musket shot or the occasional toll of a bell—when Charles Albert, pale, sad, and perceptibly aged in countenance and gait, left the Greppi palace on foot, and finally the city, with an aching heart, but with the consciousness of having done his duty.

Following the Piedmontese army which retreated in the direction of the Ticino, many thousands of Lombard families voluntarily took the way of exile, and with this melancholy *cortége*, the King re-entered his territories.

But it was only in misfortune that Charles Albert's great qualities of heart and mind were truly manifest. With what noble, dignified and forcible words did he then appeal to his people! "I am not unaware of the accusations with which some would stain my name, but God and my conscience are witnesses of the integrity of my actions and I leave these to the impartial judgment of history. A truce has been established with the enemy and, in the interval, we shall either make honourable conditions of peace or return once more to the campaign. Every pulsation of my heart has been for Italian independence, but Italy has not yet shown the world that she can accomplish it by herself. People of the kingdom! show yourselves strong under misfortune! Test the liberal institutions which are growing up amongst you—those institutions which, mindful of your needs, I granted you and shall always know how to respect with fidelity. I yet cherish the memory of the greetings with which you have saluted my name; they sounded in my ears amid the din of battle. Trust your King implicitly! The cause of Italian independence is not yet lost."

The last one to lay down his arms was Giuseppe Garibaldi, a young Nizzard sailor who, in 1834, had been exiled for his political opinions and had betaken himself to South America where, through his courage, valour and soldierly genius, he had acquired a high reputation as a military leader. The news of his bold enterprises in America had reached Italy just when the peninsula was awakening to new life and was there hailed as a good omen. Who, however, could have foreseen that the future destinies of the nation were to be so closely associated with the fortunes of the youthful hero of Monte-Video? Hardly had he heard of the new turn Italian affairs were taking, than he set out with a band of comrades-in-arms, to share in the sacred task of his country's redemption. Having arrived in Piedmont, he went straight to the royal headquarters, to offer his sword to that king in whose name he had been condemned to death in 1834, but the dashing American captain was somewhat coldly received by Charles Albert, surrounded as the latter was by men who distrusted popular adventurers. Garibaldi, impatient for warfare, offered his services to the governor of Milan, and, by the middle of July, was put in command of the volunteers dispersed between that city and Bergamo—a force with which he amalgamated his own legion of Monte-Videan heroes, with their red uniforms and green facings. But scarcely had he thus organised his corps of volunteers, when an armistice was concluded between Charles Albert and the Austrian government (August 9, 1848). This truce was not recognised by Garibaldi, and for some time he remained under arms, at the head of a thousand men on the banks of Lake Maggiore, till, pursued by an entire army corps, he had to retreat to Switzerland.

The defenders of the fortress of Osoppo, in the high valley of Tagliamento, also refused to recognise the armistice and held out against the Austrians for more than two months, till they were compelled to capitulate in the following October.

In short, the whole of the revolted districts were again secured by Austria, with the exception of Venice who, protected by her lagoons, continued to maintain her freedom and independence. Here, likewise, the armistice had provoked much indignation against Piedmont: on the 11th of August, the commissioners who, after the annexation, had assumed the reins of power in Charles Albert's name, retired, and Daniele Manin announced to the people from the *loggia* of the ducal palace that, in two days' time, an assembly would be convened to nominate a new governor, adding: "For the next forty-eight hours, I govern"—words which were greeted with frantic enthusiasm and cries of joy that well attested the popularity of the speaker.

Certainly, Austria had no reason to complain of the Pope who, by his equivocal action had helped to cool the ardour of the Italians; Radetzky, notwithstanding, sent an Austrian corps into the Legations. But the stout resistance offered by the Bolognese as well as protests from Rome were effectual in preventing any further expeditions into that territory.

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Thus in six months had the Italians passed from the most exalted hopes to the depths of despair; but they learned the lesson that if a few days' fighting over the barricades sufficed to make a revolution, other forces were necessary to gain and insure independence. Needless to say the unfortunate issue of the campaign of 1848 naturally reacted on affairs throughout the peninsula.

The discomfited House of Savoy could no longer

From a photograph by] [*Brogi.*

DANIELE MANIN.

think of Sicily, hence the Duke of Genoa refused the crown which had been offered to him by the Sicilian parliament. Then Ferdinand of Naples sent his troops to subdue the island, and on the 3rd of September, began that bombardment of Messina which caused his name to be execrated by all civilised countries and procured for him the nickname of 'King Bomba.' The city, bombarded by the garrison which was ensconced in the citadel, as well as by the Bourbon fleet which had entered the harbour, maintained a vigorous resistance for some days, but was forced to surrender on the 7th of September. Hereupon, was seen a spectacle that only Bourbon soldiers could furnish: pillage, massacres and conflagrations devastated Messina, till at last, the commanders of the English and French fleets, then maintained in Sicilian waters, intervened in the name of humanity and for a time succeeded in suspending hostilities.

Meanwhile, Ferdinand set himself to stifle every germ of freedom in the kingdom of Naples. He had known how to take advantage of the events of the 15th of May; at first, in spite of the fact that the newly-convoked parliament had been sitting for some time, he had contented himself with modifying the electoral laws. Thus, although the constitution was not nominally abolished, in reality it exercised no functions whatever.

In the Papal States, matters were rapidly coming to a crisis. It was soon seen that the constitutional system was not possible in a theocratic government. At the very moment when the legislators needed all their strength and ability to re-organise the administration, Pius IX. openly disapproved of their work. After availing himself of the services of Mamiani, Fabbri and others, the Pontiff had recourse to Pellegrino Rossi who was justly reputed an able statesman and a skilled diplomatist. A man of a masterful and energetic temperament, Rossi believed himself capable of swaying the different factions in the state, but unhappily fell a victim to the hatred that he had incurred in various quarters, for on the 15th of November, 1848, whilst ascending the steps of the chancellor's palace where the new Roman parliament was that very day to assemble, he was stabbed by the hand of an assassin. Throughout that day the city was plunged in stupefaction and disorder: on the morrow, the populace, incited by the extreme party, commenced a definite agitation and assembled in the evening beneath the windows of the Quirinal —the Pope's residence—where several shots were fired. Pius IX., under pressure from the excited mob, formed a democratic ministry, and the triumph of the radicals was accordingly celebrated by *fêtes* and illuminations. But ten days later, the whole city was staggered by the news that, on the night of the 24th–25th, the Pope had fled. The latter had, as a matter of fact, sought the hospitality of the King of Naples who put the castle of Gaeta at his guest's disposal. The Roman ministry sent a deputation to induce the fugitive to return, but instead of receiving it, Pius IX. issued a decree which declared all action of the government, after November 16th, to be null and void. Then it was determined to convoke an assembly, to deliberate on the form of rule to be adopted. Thereupon, the Pope excommunicated all who should take part in the elections, a step which resulted in the abstention of the moderates from the poll and the unqualified victory of the radicals. On the 5th of February, 1849, the Roman assembly met; on the 9th, it declared the temporal power of the Popes to be at an end and proclaimed the 'Roman republic.'

In Tuscany, too, the Grand Duke looked upon constitutionalism with no favourable eye, although he was obliged to tolerate it. Meantime, the Leghornese, incited by the liberals, revolted, and Leopold II. found himself compelled to nominate a democratic ministry in which Guerrazzi and Montanelli took part, but this done, he imitated the example of the Pontiff. Siena, the stronghold of the reactionary party, was the Grand Duke's first asylum, but he proceeded later to Porto San Stefano and from thence to Gaeta. A provisional government, under the leadership of Guerrazzi, Montanelli and Mazzoni, was now proclaimed throughout Tuscany.

Austria, who had re-established the ancient *régime* in Modena and Parma, was meanwhile glutting her vengeance in Lombardy and Venetia.

But Venice still persisted in her self-defence and gave yet another proof of greatness and heroism. The Republic had been proclaimed anew, under the presidency of Daniele Manin who wished to have as his coadjutors, two men well versed in naval and military affairs—Colonel Cavedalis and Rear-Admiral Graziani—whilst the Neapolitan veteran, Guglielmo

Pepe, was put in command of the troops. The sight of the time-honoured standard of St. Mark rejoiced the hearts of the Venetians, but with it, they sadly needed the wealth and the galleys of their ancient days. Nevertheless, all the inhabitants, from the richest patrician to the poorest plebeian, gave proofs of disinterested patriotism. To encourage the defenders and break the iron ring by which the city was now hemmed in, a sortie was resolved on, and effected on the 27th of October, 1848. The Venetian troops succeeded in occupying Mestre—where the leader of the besieging forces had been stationed—and inflicted heavy losses on the enemy, but after giving this proof of their valour, retired. In this engagement, the Neapolitan poet, Alessandro Poerio, sustained severe wounds from which he died, universally regretted, a few days later.

The Austrian throne now changed hands: in December, 1848, Ferdinand I. abdicated in favour of his nephew, Francis Joseph, a youth of eighteen. Thus Austria found herself struggling in a sea of difficulties; distracted by petty internal revolutions, she had to face rebellion in Hungary, open hostilities in Venice and the increasing menaces of Piedmont.

XI

THE WAR OF 1849

In Piedmont, the parliament and the press, as well as the political immigrants, were in favour of war: all the intrigues of European diplomacy failed to stifle the nation's patriotic aspirations, whilst Charles Albert himself was desirous of resuming the struggle with Austria. The King, after the campaign of 1848, had talked of abdicating the throne, but now, either through some vague hope of ultimate success or the idea that his return to arms would convince the world of the groundlessness of the calumnies levelled at him, he renounced this intention. On the 12th of March, 1849, the armistice was revoked, and on the 20th, hostilities recommenced.

This time Piedmont stood alone: Naples and Sicily were absorbed by their fratricidal contest; the Roman and Florentine governments were exclusively occupied in consolidating their republics; Lombardy and Venetia were awaiting the Piedmontese troops before venturing on revolt, whilst Venice had to concentrate her attention on her own defence. Thus there only remained Charles Albert's army to confront the Austrian forces: its number of fighting men had been with difficulty increased to ninety thousand, but these were, for the most part, newly-levied troops who had never been under fire. Moreover, the extreme party stirred up discontent in the ranks by shaking the soldiers' confidence in the officers who had led the preceding campaign.

The King, now conscious of his own shortcomings, renounced the supreme command—one of the many painful sacrifices that he made for his country's good. The Piedmontese general who ought to have filled his place was Bava; but just at that time, the latter, to vindicate himself from accusations brought against him, had published an account of the campaign of 1848, which had deeply wounded Charles Albert's feelings; hence, this officer was ignored. It was proposed to call in a French general, but France, very averse to compromising herself with Austria for the sake of pleasing Piedmont, raised great difficulties in the matter. Finally, Czarnowsky—a Pole, noted for the part he had taken in his country's war of independence—was made commander-in-chief. But this choice was not a happy one, for this general owed his fame more to the sympathy that Poland had aroused throughout Europe, rather than to any special gifts of his own. He was, moreover, ignorant of the Piedmontese language and customs, and knew nothing of the ground to be covered by the fighting, whilst, plain in person, undignified in presence and phlegmatic in temperament, he possessed none of those external advantages which inspire an army with confidence.

On the other hand, Radetzky could now reckon on a hundred thousand men in Italy, inspirited by the remembrance of their recent victories; the veteran leader himself seemed rejuvenated by these successes and, in this later phase of the war, knew how to enhance the renown he had already acquired.

The river which marks the boundaries between Piedmont and Lombardy is the Ticino which flows out of Lake Maggiore and, after a course of about ninety-two miles, is absorbed in the Po below Pavia. The Austrian commander intended concentrating his forces near this river, boldly entering Piedmont and giving immediate battle to the enemy; in the event of his being victorious, the insurrections which had broken out in Lombardy and Venetia would, he imagined, be easily quelled. To this end, he had massed his troops in the neighbourhood of Pavia and thence, on the 20th of March, seventy thousand of them passed unchallenged over the Ticino.

The defence of this route had been entrusted to General Ramorino who, in 1834, had led the expedition organised by Mazzini in Savoy; in fact, it was the Mazzinian party who had recommended him to the government. Ramorino had received orders to repair, with all his men, to La Cava—a position which commands the passage of the Ticino near Pavia; instead, he remained on the bank of the Po and only sent to La Cava a few battalions which, on the Austrian advance, were obliged to retreat. He was therefore accused of treason; certainly his disobedience was proved and was the result either of heedlessness, incapacity or perhaps of the jealousy of Czarnowsky who had fought side by side with him in Poland and was now his superior. Ramorino however paid dearly for his error; he was condemned to death and shot in the citadel of Turin.

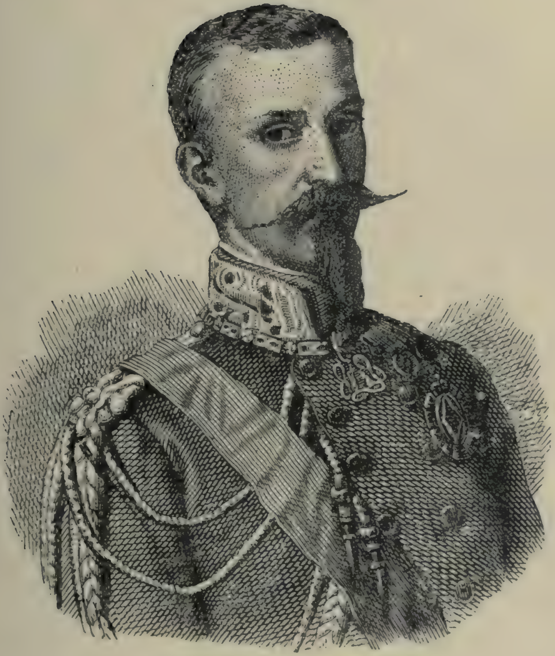
The Austrian troops had now entered Piedmont. At the same time, Czarnowsky with Charles Albert and the greater part of the Piedmontese army, crossed the Ticino, much more to the north, at the bridge of Buffalora, and reached Magenta without sighting the enemy. It was a movement similar to that made by Radetzky, but decision and audacity were necessary under such circumstances and it was needful to force a bold entrance into Lombardy, regardless of the enemy. What, indeed, could the Austrians have done in the midst of a hostile population—for Lombardy and Venetia were insurgent to the backbone—where the Piedmontese army could have foiled their retreat? However, Czarnowsky, instead of following out his own plan, chose, like a second-rate leader, to adopt that of his opponent and decided on turning back and retracing his passage across the Ticino.

The place where the fate of this campaign was to be settled, is the tract of ground between the last-named river and the Sesia; midway lies the town of Novara and a little more to the south are Mortara and Vigevano. Near the two latter, on the 21st of March, the Piedmontese encountered the Austrians; at Vigevano and at Sforzesca close by, the former were victorious, but they sustained a defeat at Mortara.

Then Czarnowsky concentrated his forces below

Novara where, on the 23rd of March, the last act of the drama was played out. The troops were disheartened by their late repulse at Mortara: moreover, the commissariat was, on this occasion, so badly managed, that many entirely lacked provisions, and evil presentiments clouded the spirits of the men. However, at the beginning of the action, fortune favoured the Piedmontese, and the Duke of Genoa who had two horses killed under him, drove the Austrians out of the valley of Bicocca, but Czarnowsky—who had organised a plan of defence and did not wish to abandon it—instead of despatching troops to strike a decisive blow, gave the order for a retreat. In the meantime, fresh Austrian reinforcements came up and, after a desperate struggle which did not end till the evening was already far advanced, remained masters of the field.

How terrible was that night of the 23rd of March, 1849, at Novara! It was raining in torrents; the Piedmontese soldiers were fleeing disbanded; carts full of wounded were encumbering the streets, whilst the Austrian artillery was continually plying its death-dealing work. Such was the spectacle which met Charles Albert's eyes, as, with haggard face and contracted brow and his tall figure prematurely bowed, he stood with folded arms, beneath the walls of Novara, lost in the memories of the past. A year before, on that very 23rd of March, he had declared, from the royal palace at Turin, the war of independence and lo! of that happy day, this was the gloomy and tragic anniversary, so fraught with woe to Italy and to himself! What were his reflections



FERDINAND, DUKE OF GENOA.

in that bitter moment? Did he remember how, twenty-eight years ago, he had come to Novara after he had abandoned the constitutional cause; did he recollect how his friends of 1821 had defended the Italian tricolour underneath those same walls and had only found the exile that was the lot of the vanquished? And now for him, likewise, all hope of greatness and of glory had departed: all in vain had he courted danger in the foremost ranks of the fight and sought death on that field where his generals Passalacqua and Perrone, and so many other valiant champions of the cause, had fallen.

On being consulted as to whether it were possible to continue the struggle, the Piedmontese generals answered the King by a decided negative. The latter then sent to demand an armistice from Radetzky, but the conditions proposed were terribly exacting. It seemed to Charles Albert that he, personally, was the obstacle to obtaining better terms, and thus it was he consummated his last sacrifice for the sake of Italy; not only did he abdicate in favour of his son, Victor Emmanuel II., but, the better to exclude himself from all part in public affairs, he determined to leave Piedmont and retire to Portugal. Impatient to be gone, he did not even wait for daybreak, but that same night, in a carriage which had been found and prepared for him, he set out on his self-imposed exile. By a pathetic coincidence—for everything on this occasion must have tended to remind him of the errors of his youth—the last words the discrowned monarch heard as he left the frontier of his kingdom at Nice, were expressions of kindly sympathy from the governor, a son of that Santorre Di Santarosa who had been his comrade in 1821. What a weary and melancholy journey must his have been, as he crossed France and Spain to far-off Oporto where, a few months later, the 'magnanimous king,' broken down by many sorrows, breathed his last.[1]

After the victory gained over Piedmont, it was easy for Austria to put down insurrectionary movements in the Lombardo-Venetian States. For ten days, however, the city of Brescia, resisted the attacks of General Haynau and his invading troops who, on the 31st of March, entered the city, but hardly as masters of it, for they had to take the houses one by one, and only the next day did Brescia, devastated by fire and sword and filled with corpses, submit to the Austrian conqueror. The heroism of the Brescians was only equalled by the savage cruelty of the enemy; thus while the atrocities committed by them caused General Haynau's name to be execrated throughout the civilised world, that of Brescia was written on the scroll of fame, in shining letters, for ever.

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Italy had, indeed, fallen upon evil days, for the disaster of Novara was felt throughout the whole peninsula.

But the Austrian successes encouraged Ferdinand II. of Naples to resume his task of the subjugation of Sicily. At the end of March, twenty thousand

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[1] His remains were carried to Italy and found a resting-place in the Superga, the royal burial-church near Turin.

Bourbon troops marched from Messina against the rebels, occupied Taormina as well as Catania, and advanced on Palermo. The provincial government proposed to make terms, which the Palermitans however refused to accept, so for three days the royal troops had to contest their entrance into the city, and only obtained possession, by promising favourable conditions—conditions which the Bourbon king afterwards failed to observe. In fact, the island was now oppressed by a heavier yoke than ever.

In the kingdom of Naples, Ferdinand, having at last thrown off the mask, not only dispensed with convoking parliament, but actually caused the most eminent men of the liberal party, including Luigi Settembrini, Antonio Scialoia, Carlo Poerio, Silvio Spaventa and many others, to be arrested. Only too easily alas! could such a ruler find corrupt and evilly-disposed judges ready to wreak his infamous will.

A milder *régime* prevailed in Tuscany. The flight of the Grand Duke had left the power in the hands of the democratic party, and Guerrazzi had become dictator of the duchy. But a republican form of government was not adapted to such a state as the Tuscan; rather did it disturb the equilibrium of this easy-going people. After the disaster of Novara, Austrian interference in Tuscany seemed imminent, so the moderate party in Florence judged it best to avoid all pretext for such meddling by recalling the Grand Duke. On the 12th of April, 1849, Ricasoli, Capponi and Peruzzi, with several other distinguished members of the moderate party, acting conjointly with the Florentine municipality, assumed power in the name of the Grand Duke Leopold, and this change was accepted by all the Tuscan towns, with the exception of Leghorn which remained in the hands of the revolutionists.

The moderates forthwith invited the Grand Duke, who was then at Gaeta, to re-enter his states. He accepted this proposal, so advantageous to himself, but sent on in advance an Austrian force which soon stifled all revolt at Leghorn. Moreover, as if the mortification endured through foreign intervention was not a sufficient affront to his people who had spontaneously reinstated him on his throne, Leopold II., on his re-entry into Florence, actually wore the uniform of an Austrian general. From that day forward, the whole Tuscan population ceased to have any interest in the fate of the house of Lorraine, and even the moderate party declared itself in opposition to that dynasty when the latter obeyed the dictates of Vienna.

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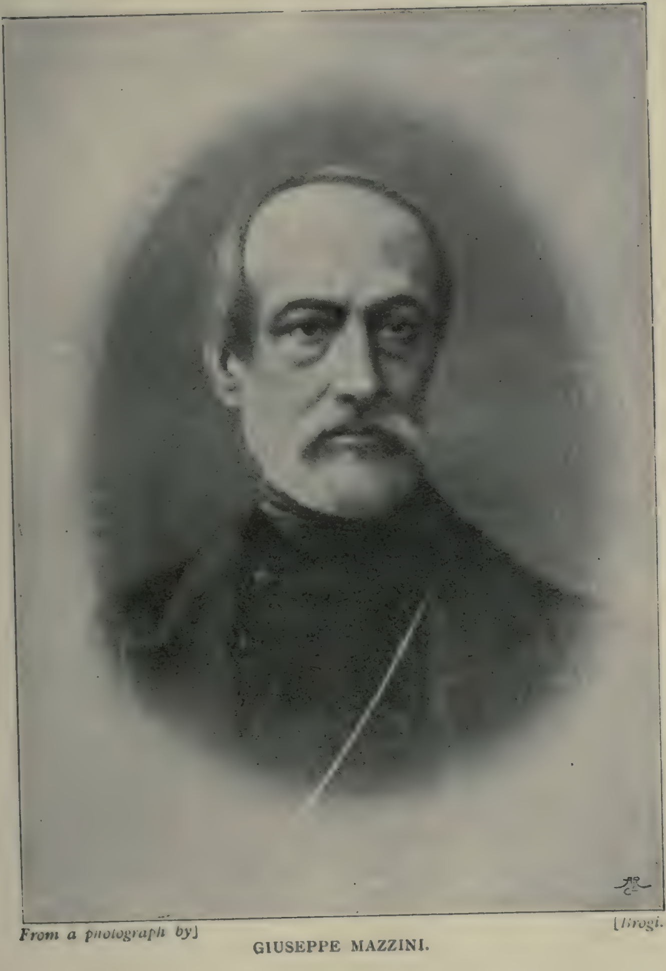
In the Papal States events of the gravest importance were meanwhile taking place. When the republic had been proclaimed at Rome, in February, 1849, Giuseppe Mazzini had exultantly hastened thither. In 1848, when Italy rose against the foreigner, the leader, who for so many years had been the most fervent champion of national unity and independence, had found himself ousted from the councils of his countrymen because the latter, averse to the notion of a republic and inspired by the ideals of Gioberti and Balbo, sought rather to act in concert with their princes and pontiff. Thus Mazzini as a fomenter of discord, had failed to profit the Italian cause in 1848. But when the republican cry was heard from Rome in the following year, he hoped that this ideal of a commonwealth would spread thence throughout the peninsula. The executive power in the new government was entrusted to a triumvirate, composed of Mazzini, Saffi and Armellini; in reality, Mazzini was the dictator.

The Roman Republic at once encountered serious obstacles. From Gaeta, Pius IX. had invited the Catholic nations to restore his temporal authority: Spain, always zealous in defence of the altar, immediately offered her aid; the King of Naples who harboured the Pontiff as his guest, declared his willingness to help; Austria, who supported the new attitude assumed by the Pope, also promised her intervention, but, most surprising of all, was the action of France.

On the 10th of December, 1848, Louis Napoleon was nominated president of the French Republic. Even then he intended the ruin of the polity over which he presided, in order to establish his imperial throne, but he saw that he would need the support of the clerical party and that the only means of obtaining this, was the restoration of the papal power; however, finding strong opposition in the Chamber of Deputies—wherein the liberal element predominated—he resorted to a diplomatic equivoque. He declared that it was France's policy to hinder the extension of Austrian influence in Italy, and therefore caused an army to be despatched, under General



From a photograph by] [Brogi.

GIUSEPPE MAZZINI.

Oudinot, into the Papal States, to defend—so he said—the interests of true liberty and to allow of the Romans freely determining their own destiny. But at Rome this foreign interference was considered an impertinence, and the republic declared that it would oppose force by force. So when on the 30th of April, 1849, Oudinot's troops arrived under the city walls, they were stoutly repulsed by Garibaldi's volunteers. The news of this engagement opened the eyes of French liberals; to mollify their exasperation, Ferdinand De Lesseps was sent as ambassador to treat with the Italians and arrange an armistice.

During this suspension of hostilities between France and Rome, the Austrians occupied the territory of Ferrara, advanced on Bologna and, descending by the Adriatic, took possession of Ancona, but here they were stopped by the French who wished to reserve to themselves the honour of reinstating the Pope in his dominions. Whilst Austria was advancing from the north, a body of Spanish troops made their appearance in the Pontine marshes, but these champions of the Christian faith, after traversing territory where no enemy was in sight and making almost a triumphal entry into the Fiumicino, without even encountering a *gendarme*, returned home again, to boast of the wonderful exploits they had achieved to the glory of God and of Spain. Ferdinand of Naples also directed his arms against the Roman Republic. Flushed with victory after his Sicilian successes, he now intended to ingratiate himself with the Pontiff. Having passed the confines of the Papal States, he at length reached Velletri where he was driven back by the Roman troops: Garibaldi even crossed the frontier in pursuit and, had he not been recalled by Roselli, the commander-in-chief, the Bourbon retreat might have proved a disastrous one. At all events, after this defeat, Ferdinand II. determined to leave an enterprise fraught with so much difficulty, in other hands.

Meantime, while these events were proceeding, Napoleon, having overridden the opposition of his government, had sent fresh reinforcements to General Oudinot. On the 3rd of June the armistice expired: that very day, one of the most memorable engagements of the campaign took place under the walls of Rome. Amongst the wounded in the Garibaldian ranks was the young poet, Goffredo Mameli who died a month later when his comrades were already on the way to exile. Luciano Manara, the valiant Lombard leader and Emilio Morosini both fell during this glorious struggle, and Giacomo Medici, the heroic defender of the house called the Vascello, also immortalised himself on this occasion.

It was, however, an impossibility that those few thousand volunteers should hold their own against the overwhelming numbers of the French army. On the 2nd of July, the Roman assembly declared all resistance to be useless, and whilst the French were entering the city, the deputies proclaimed the republican constitution at an end. On the morrow, the hall of the assembly was closed, and Oudinot re-established the temporal power of the papacy in Rome.

Garibaldi, with four thousand men, had fully intended carrying on the war in the mountains, on his own account, but, pursued by the French in Latium and threatened by the Austrians in the Marches, saw his followers falling away; he therefore entered the territory of the San Marino Republic, where he formally dismissed his men. Three hundred, however, were anxious to accompany him to Venice whither he resolved to repair, to offer his help to that city—the last to resist Austria. This little company embarked at Cesenatico in thirteen fishing smacks, on a perfectly clear night, the moon lighting the flotilla on its way: but her rays, so often blessed by sailors, were on this occasion, fatal to the fugitives and made their movements visible to the Austrian vessels who gave chase and captured eight of the boats. Five succeeded in reaching the shore, near the mouth of the Po; in one of these was Garibaldi with his courageous wife, Anita, who, although far advanced in pregnancy, had determined to be his companion in this perilous expedition. What terrible experiences were those of the hero at this juncture! Let his own words tell the simple yet moving story as he gives it to us in his *Memorie* :—

"My position in these dreadful moments can be better imagined than described. My unhappy wife was dying! Seawards, the enemy was in pursuit, with that alacrity which means an easy victory, and before us was the prospect of landing on a coast that was probably infested, not only with our Austrian enemies, but with fiercely reactionary papal troops as well. At any rate, we reached the land. I took

GIUSEPPE GARIBALDI.

my precious burden in my arms, disembarked and laid her on the shore. I told my companions—who mutely asked what they should do—each to set out in different directions, to seek a refuge wherever it might be found ; at all events, I bid them get away from the place where they then were, as the enemy's boats were likely to arrive at any moment. For me to proceed further was out of the question : I could not abandon my dying wife.

"The men to whom I addressed myself were my cherished comrades, Ugo Bassi and Ciceruacchio with his two sons. Bassi said to me : 'I am going to look for some little cottage where I can change my breeches, these will certainly excite suspicion.' He was wearing red trousers, taken, I believe, from the corpse of a French soldier at Rome and given him by one of our men, days before, to replace his much-patched pair. Ciceruacchio bade me an affectionate farewell as he and his sons left me. Thus did these excellent men and I part, never to meet again. A few days later, Austrian cruelty sated its thirst for blood by the execution of these noble-minded men and thus vindicated its past fears. . . .

"I remained near the sea, in a field of maize, with my Anita and my inseparable follower, Lieutenant Leggiero who had been with me in Switzerland the year before, after the affair at Morazzone. The last words of my heart's beloved were for her sons whom she felt she should never see again !

"We stayed for some time in the maize field, uncertain what to do with her. Finally, I told Leggiero to explore the neighbourhood, in order to discover some house in the vicinity, and with his wonted readiness he immediately set off to do so. I waited for some little time, but soon hearing footsteps approaching, emerged from my hiding-place, to see Leggiero with a man whom I immediately recognised with delight, for his presence was in itself a consolation to me. This was Colonel Nino Bonnet, one of my most distinguished officers, wounded at Rome during the siege wherein he had lost a gallant brother ; he himself had gone home to be healed of his wounds. For me, nothing more fortunate than this meeting with my comrade-in-arms could have happened. He was a landowner in these parts and lived in the neighbourhood ; thus it was that he had heard the cannonading, and foreseeing our arrival, had hastened to the seashore to find us and give us aid. Brave and intelligent, Bonnet risked great peril to himself in this search for us. Having once acquired such an auxiliary, I put myself entirely in his hands and thus we were saved. He at once proposed that we should repair to a little cabin near by, to procure some restorative for my unhappy wife. Thither we betook ourselves, supporting Anita between us, and with difficulty, reached a cottage whose poor inhabitants gave us some water—that first necessity of the suffering woman—I do not remember what else. From there we went to a house belonging to Bonnet's sister who showed us every kindness. On leaving her we crossed part of the valley of Comacchio in order to reach La Mandriola where a doctor was to be found.

On our arrival at La Mandriola, Anita remained lying on a mattress in the cart in which we had travelled. I then said to Doctor Zannini, who just then entered the house: 'try to save this lady.' He answered: 'Let us manage to put her into bed.' Then we four each took a corner of the mattress and carried her into an upstair room. When I placed my wife on the bed, I saw that death had already marked her for his own; I felt for her pulse. . . . it had ceased to beat! Before me, a corpse, lay the mother of my children: directly they see me, I thought, they will ask for their mother. I wept bitterly for the loss of my Anita, for the woman who had been my constant companion in the most adventurous part of my life. I commended her remains for burial to the kind folk who surrounded me, and then at the request of the people of the house, whom I was compromising by my stay, quickly withdrew. I staggered on, ill-able to walk, in the direction of Sant' Alberto with a guide who took me to the house of a tailor, a poor but honest and kind-hearted man. Bonnet, to whom I admit, I owed my life, was but the first of a series of protectors, without whom I should never have been able to journey, as I actually did, for thirty-seven days, from the mouth of the Po to the Gulf of St. Scarlino, where I embarked for Liguria."

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The clash of arms was now no longer heard in the peninsula, Venice alone excepted. When Piedmont resumed her struggle with Austria in March, 1849, the renewal of hostilities was enthusiastically hailed by the Venetians who on the 22nd of that month had celebrated with rejoicings the first anniversary of their liberation. The news of the disastrous issue of Novara, however, came all too quickly. Thereupon the victorious General Haynau announced the Piedmontese defeat and the conclusion of an armistice to Daniele Manin, and, at the same time, invited Venice to submit, without further ado, to the Austrian Emperor. Now comes one of the most stirring pages of this glorious record. The Republic could no longer hope for aid of any kind when, on the 2nd of April, the Venetian representatives met together in the Hall of the Great Council; yet, in that famous session it was unanimously declared that Venice would resist to the uttermost. And, under the strong and capable sway of Daniele Manin, nobly did she redeem her word!

Then began the real blockade of Venice. The defence was restricted to the lagoon alone, from Tre Porti to Brondolo, whilst from the land side, the fortress of Malghera was made the centre of organised resistance. On the 4th of May, it was the object of a tremendous assault: the Austrians were so certain of success that Marshal Radetzky himself, with three of the young Austrian archdukes, came on the scene to assist in the capture of the stronghold: from the lofty tower of Mestre, they watched the strife that was being waged with such fury, whilst the Venetians, from the roofs and *campanili* of the city, looked on, full of anxiety, at the struggle which was to decide their fate. The cannonade lasted all day, but at last, the inhabitants of Venice could joyfully hail their defenders' victory.

The attack on the fortress was repeated on the 6th of May and on several following days, but all to no purpose. However, it was impossible that the defence of Malghera could be maintained for long; what was left of its fabric threatened to give way, and the greater part of the garrison had now been killed. Orders were now given to the survivors in the fortress to retire into Venice itself: accordingly, on the night of the 26–27th of May, the defenders silently withdrew over the long bridge which connects the city with the mainland. Although some arches of the bridge were broken, in its central platform a battery was erected which was fiercely attacked by the Austrians, now occupying Malghera. Of what heroism were not those arches the scene! There, on the central platform, Colonel Cesare Rossaroll died a hero's death; there it was, too, that Enrico Cosenz acquired imperishable glory. The resistance was still obstinately maintained, in spite of the great scarcity of provisions and the Austrians' bombardment of the city—in the space of twenty-four days, twenty-three thousand projectiles fell into Venice: even then every summons to surrender was met by a sturdy refusal. On the 1st of August, under the leadership of Sirtori, a sortie was made in the direction of Brondolo where two hundred head of cattle were taken; thus, for some days, the wants of the now famishing citizens were provided for.

Unhappily, to war and famine was now added the scourge of cholera. It can be easily understood how the fear of a terrible death exasperated the starving people—already the victims of so many woes — who, owing to the devastation of the rest of their city by bombs, were only able to find a third part of it habitable. All the rest was exposed to the enemy's fire, and the cholera spread to a frightful extent and numbered many victims. Then it was, and then only, that negotiations were opened with the enemy. Daniele Manin who had shown himself, throughout all calamities, great alike in heart and mind, reviewed the civic guard for the last time and uttered these memorable words—a just summary of his work—"You may perhaps say, 'This man has deceived himself,' but you can never say, 'He has deceived us.'"

On the 22nd of August hostilities ceased, and on the 24th, the terms of capitulation were signed and Manin, Tommaseo, Pepe and many others retired as exiles to a foreign land. On the 30th, Radetzky made his solemn entry into Venice and went to St. Mark's to assist at a *Te Deum*.

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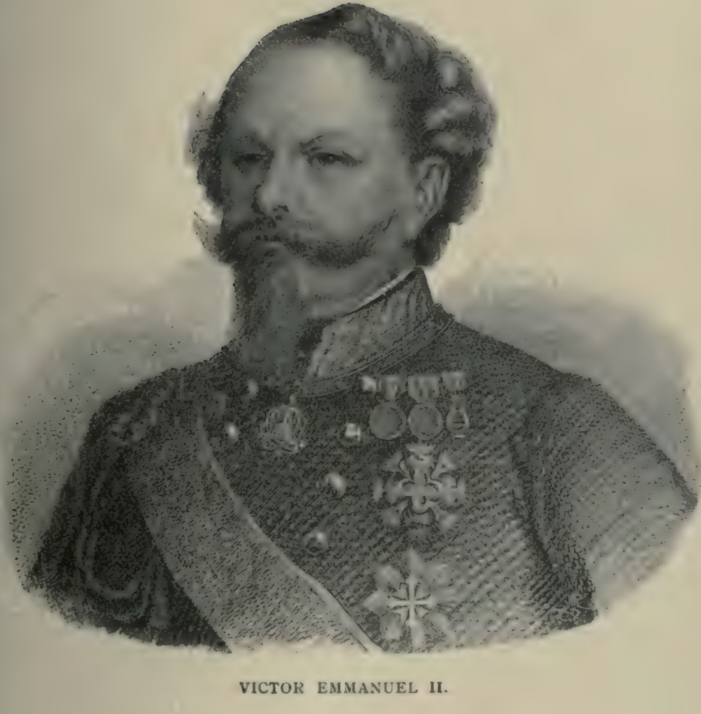
In the complete ruin of Italian hopes, one state alone had not lost all and that was Piedmont. She had been defeated by Austria, but, to her own good fortune as well as to that of Italy, had preserved her Statute, a fact that redounded greatly to the credit of her king, Victor Emmanuel II. who had assumed. on the blood-stained field of Novara, the ancient crown of Savoy.

XII

THE BEGINNING OF VICTOR EMMANUEL II.'S REIGN.

VICTOR EMMANUEL was born at Turin on the 14th of March, 1820. The future maker of Italy first saw the light in the very year in which the peninsula entered her earliest protest against the treaties of 1815, and when the idea of an Italian *Risorgimento* had already taken root in his father's mind. But under very gloomy conditions did Charles Albert's son ascend the throne—at a time when the first news of the rout at Novara had caused the deepest grief throughout the country. His very accession implied that hardest of all sacrifices—that of accepting with resignation the position of the vanquished.

On the 24th of March, 1849, Victor Emmanuel, with a scanty *entourage*, went to treat in person with Radetzky at a place called Vignale, near Novara. On the abdication of Charles Albert, Radetzky had hoped that the nationalist predilections of Piedmont were done with for ever, and that constitutional liberty and the tricoloured flag had disappeared from the country for good with the carriage that had taken its monarch into exile—a hope further confirmed by the



VICTOR EMMANUEL II.

fact of the new King having married Marie Adelaide, daughter of the Austrian Archduke Rainier. Radetzky, who had been on very friendly terms with Rainier and had been present at the birth of the princess Adelaide, received the young King with much *empressement*, and held out to him the prospect of an aggrandisement of his territories if he would re-establish absolutism and once more hoist the ancient blue banner of Savoy. But the new ruler of Piedmont resolutely answered that the House of Savoy always kept its plighted word: under stress of dire necessity, he signed the hard conditions of the armistice and then repaired to Turin to swear fidelity to the Statute.

Although Victor Emmanuel afterwards enjoyed so much popularity, he ascended the throne amid general discontent; indeed he was popularly supposed to side with Austria—a belief attested by an unknown handwriting on the walls of the palace in Turin: "It is all up with us: we have a German king and queen." In fact, an insurrection actually broke out against him. The republican party believed this to be an opportune moment to attempt a *coup* at Genoa where the memory of republican traditions had always been cherished. A rumour spread that the city was to have been occupied by Austrian troops, and efforts were made to reawaken the ancient animosity of Liguria against Piedmont. On the 29th of March, 1849, Genoa revolted, but, early in April, General Alfonso La Marmora arrived on the scene with a body of troops and, by energetic efforts, succeeded in quelling sedition.

In those days reaction was triumphing everywhere, not only in the Italian peninsula, but throughout the continent of Europe—in fact, the constitutions, wherever granted in 1848, had been suppressed. Victor Emmanuel also could, by a *coup d'état*, have easily re-established absolute government; indeed, he was strongly incited to such a step by nearly all the Powers, but happily he knew how to resist the temptation. The better to signalise the direction he intended Piedmontese policy to take, he chose for the head of the ministry, Massimo D'Azeglio—a man distinguished both for his loyalty and patriotism, who well and aptly embodied the constantly-pursued aim of his nation in the famous words: "Let us begin again from the beginning and we will do better."

In the meantime, it was felt that the armistice with Austria could not last for ever; one of two things had to be decided on—a resumption of arms or the conclusion of peace. The first alternative was impossible, considering the state not only of Piedmont, but of the whole of Italy at that time. Negotiations were therefore propounded which, in spite of being long drawn out and beset with difficulties, resulted in the treaty of August 6, 1849, by which the Piedmontese were mulcted of a war indemnity of seventy-five million francs.

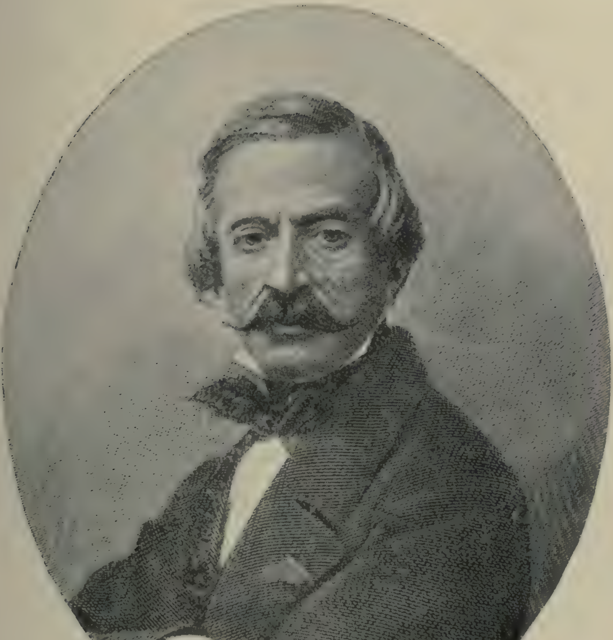
This treaty had to be ratified by the national parliament. In the memorable discussion which followed, Cesare Balbo, who had sent five sons to the war of independence and lost one on the heroic field of Novara, took a prominent part. Balbo maintained that silent approval of the peace-terms would have been the most dignified course to pursue, but his proposal did not commend itself to the majority who wished to withhold their approbation of the treaty. Anxious days were those for the King and ministers who were all jealous for their country's honour, but well aware that any fresh attempt to try their strength with Austria would be futile.

Then the King, following Massimo D'Azeglio's advice, dissolved the Chamber and, convening another, issued the following manifesto (November 20, 1849) which, from the name of the place where it received the royal signature, was called the 'Proclamation of Moncalieri':

"With all due allowance for the gravity of the present situation, the loyalty which, up till now, I think I have shown in word and deed, ought to be sufficient to dispel uncertainty from all minds. I feel, notwithstanding, the desire, if not the necessity, of addressing a few words to my people, which may be a fresh pledge of confidence and, at the same time, the expression of truth and justice.

"The liberties of the country run no risk of being imperilled through the dissolution of the Chamber of Deputies, for they are protected by the venerated memory of my father, King Charles Albert; they are entrusted to the honour of the House of Savoy; they are guarded by the solemnity of my own oath: who would dare to have any fear for them?

"Before assembling Parliament, I spoke frankly to the nation, above all, to the electors. In my proclamation of the 3rd of July, 1849, I advised the



MASSIMO D'AZEGLIO.

latter to be guided by such rules of action as should not render the observance of the Statute impossible. But only little more than a third of them took part in the elections: the remainder neglected that right, which is as well a bounden duty incumbent on every citizen in a free state. I had fulfilled my functions: why did they not perform theirs?

"In my speech from the throne I made known—and such manifestation was only too necessary—the deplorable condition of the kingdom. I set forth the obligation of observing a truce in all party passion and of promptly solving the vital questions that affected the public weal. My utterances were inspired by the most genuine patriotism and the purest loyalty; what fruit did they bear? The very first acts of the Chamber were hostile to the Crown when the former exercised one of its rights. But if I had forgotten, the Chamber ought not to have done so

"I say nothing of the unreasonably violent resistance maintained by the Opposition against the policy which my ministers were loyally pursuing and which, under the circumstances, was the only one possible; I pass over in silence the attacks made on that prerogative which the law of the State allows me, but I can with reason call the Chamber to strict account for its late action and can safely appeal therefrom to the judgment of Italy and of Europe alike.

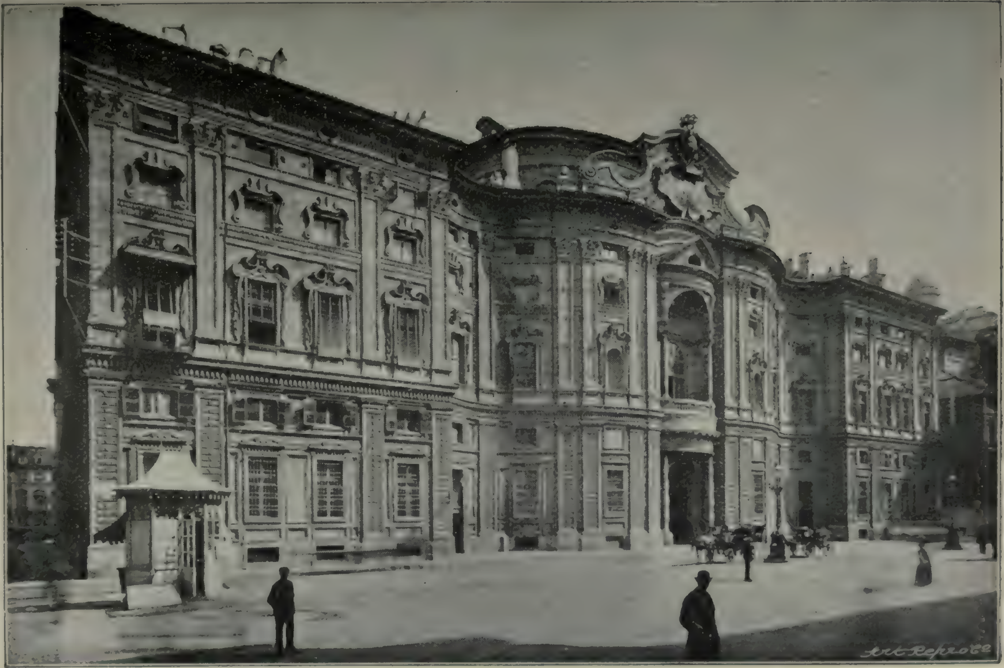
"I have signed an honourable and by-no-means-damaging treaty with Austria: this I did for the public good. The honour of my country, as well as the sanctity of my oath, both demand that I should comply with that treaty, without cavilling or deceit.

My ministers have asked for the assent of the Chamber to the same, which body, by making such assent conditional, rendered it impossible of acceptance, since it would have destroyed the reciprocal interdependence of the three Powers in the kingdom, and thus have violated the Statute. I have sworn to preserve justice and the rightful liberty of every individual in the State, as I have promised to save the nation from the tyranny of party, whatever be its name, its aim, or the rank of the men who compose it. This promise and these oaths I keep by dissolving a Chamber that had become an anomaly, and by immediately convoking another, but if the country and the electors refuse me their support, not on me will fall the responsibility of the future, and in the disorders which will ensue, they will not have me, but themselves, to blame.

"If I find it my duty on this occasion, to express myself in somewhat severe terms, I trust that my subjects' good sense and instincts of justice will enable them to feel that what I have said is inspired by the love I bear them and by my devotion to their own best interests—both of which are confirmed by my fixed intention to maintain and defend the liberties of my people, alike from enemies without as from those within. Up till this time, the House of Savoy has never appealed in vain to the loyalty, the good sense and the affection of its supporters. I have, therefore, a full right to trust them in this present crisis, and to take it for granted that, united, we shall be able to preserve the Statute and save our country from the perils by which she is threatened."

This manifesto made a deep impression on those to whom it was addressed, and was judged from various points of view. It was certainly a bold stroke, since it placed the King in opposition to the Chamber, and invited the electors frankly to declare their sympathies: if the elections were to go against the King, it would necessarily imply a *coup d'état*. But in forming an estimate of this proclamation, it must be remembered that it bore, besides the King's signature, that of Massimo D'Azeglio, well known to be a steadfast and sincere champion of liberal ideas, and that it was addressed to that Piedmontese population which had, at all times, given proof of their sagacity at the most serious crises, as well as of their reverence and affection for the dynasty of Savoy. Once more their good sense saved the nation: the King's representations gained a respectful hearing, and deputies were returned to the Chamber, who gave unqualified assent to the peace treaty.

Then Massimo D'Azeglio set about reorganising the internal affairs of the kingdom, following therein a distinctly liberal policy. In 1850, Count Siccardi, minister of Justice, initiated legislation for the abolition of the ecclesiastical court—that relic of mediævalism which was, in the eyes of the law, an obstacle to general equality. This gave great provocation to Rome: in the pulpit, the press, even in the confessional itself, clerical opposition was manifested to Siccardi's motion. But the latter was carried notwithstanding, and the Bishops of Turin and Cagliari, who wished to hinder its enforcement,


Art Reproco

THE CARIGNANO PALACE, TURIN,
Where Victor Emmanuel was born, and the Chamber of Deputies held its sittings.

were sent into exile. The exasperation of the intransigent clergy affected even the last moments of the dying. In the same year (1850) Count Pietro Di Santarosa, minister of Commerce and Agriculture, being *in extremis*, asked for the consolations of religion: the ecclesiastics around his death-bed insisted that he should first of all signify his disapprobation of the Siccardi law; although a highly religious man, Santarosa refused to do so, and was actually denied the last Sacraments, in consequence.

Count Camillo Benso Di Cavour, editor of the *Risorgimento*, who had already acquired great authority in the Chamber, was called to fill the post of Santarosa. From being minister of Agriculture, he quickly became minister of Finance and was not long in demonstrating his distinct superiority over his colleagues. In the meantime, the Piedmontese government continued to assume a more and more Italian and liberal tendency, whilst the King turned his attention to the army, a work in which he found a valuable coadjutor in General Alfonso la Marmora, now made minister of War.

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The glorious spectacle of disciplined freedom which Piedmont now presented to the world, displeased the other Italian princes who drew, so to speak, a kind of sanitary cordon round their states, so that these might not be affected by the contagion of liberalism. Ferdinand II. of Naples concentrated all his thoughts on arrests and condemnations: consequently, the most cultivated and virtuous men who, under a decent government, would have been the pride of the nation, filled his prisons, obliged to drag out their existence in company with the most depraved criminals.

William Ewart Gladstone, who was at Naples during these political trials, was so indignant at the sight of such tyranny, that, although only lately arrived there, he hastened to shake the dust of the city off his feet, instead of awaiting his turn for the royal audience he had desired, so much did he now loathe the idea of facing such a king. On the 11th of July, 1851, after his return to England, he published the first of his letters addressed to Lord Aberdeen—afterwards the English premier—respecting the condition of the kingdom of Naples. He declares the conduct of the Bourbon government "an outrage upon religion, upon civilisation, upon humanity and upon decency." "Since," he adds, "it is not mere imperfection, not corruption in low quarters, not occasional severity, that I am about to describe: it is incessant, systematic, deliberate violation of the law by the Power appointed to watch over and maintain it. It is such violation of human and written law as this, carried on for the purpose of violating every other law, unwritten and eternal, human and divine; it is the wholesale prosecution of virtue when united with intelligence, operating upon such a scale that entire classes may with truth be said to be its object. I have seen and heard the strong, and too true, expression used: 'This is the negation of God created into a system of government.'"

In this letter Gladstone examines in detail, and makes a judicial, concise and thorough investigation of, the wretched condition of the kingdom of Naples. Speaking of the number of those imprisoned for political offences, he says: "I believe that twenty thousand is no unreasonable estimate for the whole country. For months, or for a year, or for two years or three, as the case may be, these prisoners are detained before their trials, but very generally for the longer terms. I do not happen to have heard of any one tried at Naples on a political charge, in these last times, with less than sixteen or eighteen months of previous imprisonment. I have seen men still waiting, who have been confined for six-and-twenty months, and this confinement, as I have said, began by an act not of law, but of force in defiance of law. . . .

"I do not scruple to assert in continuation that, when every effort has been used to concoct a charge, if possible, out of the perversion and partial production of real evidence, this often fails, and then the resort is had to perjury and to forgery. The miserable creatures to be found in most communities, but especially in those where the government is the great agent of corruption upon the people, the wretches who are ready to sell the life and liberty of fellow-subjects for gold, and to throw their own souls into the bargain, are deliberately employed by the Executive Power to depose according to their inventions against the man whom it is thought desirable to ruin."

His calm, controlled reasoning gives place to a passion of indignation, when he tells of Carlo Poerio, and of the iniquitous treatment and tortures inflicted on this distinguished man who was a strenuous supporter of the constitutional cause. "I must say, after a pretty full examination of the case, that the condemnation of such a man for treason is a proceeding just as much conformable to the laws of truth, justice, decency and fair play and to the common sense of the community, in fact, as great and gross an outrage on them all, as would be a like condemnation in this country of any of our best-known public men, Lord Russell or Lord Lansdowne, or Sir James Graham or yourself."

The moral effect of this letter, by which an ordinary citizen threw down the gauntlet to a despotic monarch, was wide and far-reaching. Many Italian patriots printed pamphlets expressive of gratitude to the great English statesman. The Bourbon government, on the other hand, tried to neutralise the consequences of the Gladstonian manifesto—so disastrous to themselves—by publishing an official response in which, however, not a hundredth part of the accusations were refuted. Then it was that, resuming his pen to clinch his indictment, Gladstone assumed the full responsibility thereof: "Launched on the twentieth year of my public life, with my lot cast in a stirring country and in a stirring time, I cannot plead the character of a novice in excuse or palliation of my temerity. Neither can I throw the smallest fraction of my responsibility for the measure of publication, at the time and under the circumstances when it took place, on any other person. I very well knew that, on the general truth of my charges, I was staking my own character which, though little in itself, is much to me." Such were the brave and heroic words which that noble man, secure in the integrity of his own conscience, penned in the interests of truth and justice.

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The condition of the rest of Italy was at this epoch indeed deplorable. In the Pontifical States, Pius IX. had put himself completely into the hands of the reactionary cardinals; Tuscany could now consider herself annexed to the dominions of Austria; at Modena, Francis V. faithfully followed in his predecessor's footsteps; at Parma, Charles III., who had succeeded his father, Charles Louis of Bourbon, in 1849, was a good type of a mediæval tyrant, arbitrary, dissolute, ignorant and vicious.

In Lombardy and Venetia, Austria now knew that she was hated and did her best to deserve the odium: at Milan, by the orders of the police, even some women were flogged. The people detested the sight of the white Austrian uniforms, and many of them began to fix their hopes on Piedmont. By others, the Mazzini ideal was yet kept alive, in spite of the continued Austrian policy of arrests and executions. Among the martyrs of that epoch, the workman, Sciesa—condemned to death for having affixed a revolutionary placard at a street corner—merits special mention; on the way to the scaffold, he was offered his liberty if he would but reveal the name of the person who had given him the manifesto, but he calmly replied: "Let us proceed," and boldly marched to meet his fate. A very widespread plot had been organised in

Lombardy and Venetia in 1851; some of the conspirators even imagined they could succeed in making the Emperor a prisoner during one of his journeys to Venice. This association became daily more and more enlarged; by chance, the police arrested one of the members and, by degrees, succeeded in discovering the whole plot. Then at Mantua, sinister proceedings were set on foot. On the 7th of December, 1852, the priest, Enrico Tazzoli, the physician, Carlo Poma, Angelo Scarsellini, Bernardo Canal and Giovanni Zambelli mounted the scaffold, and shortly afterwards, among other distinguished Lombardo-Venetian citizens, the priest, Bartolomeo Grazioli, Count Carlo Montanari and Tito Speri died by the hand of the executioner, whilst others, like Finzi and Cavalletto, were sent to the prisons of Moravia.

Although these sanguinary measures had robbed the field of action of its revolutionary chiefs, a hundred Milanese inhabitants resorted to a bold *coup* and on the 6th of February, 1853, attacked and killed some Austrian sentinels, but soon afterwards were made prisoners, and sixteen of their number were hanged.

In view of these facts, Austria sequestrated the goods of the Lombardo-Venetian emigrants, nearly all refugees in Piedmont, under the pretence that the latter had instigated these risings. Cavour who had now become president of the King of Sardinia's ministry, protested in an emphatic *Memorandum*, against this abuse of power by Austria and maintained that a properly-constituted government should, before condemning the emigrants, have formally proved their complicity in the offence. He then caused parliament to vote a sum of money for the succour of the victims of spoliation, and thus more and more confirmed the identification of Piedmontese with Italian interests.

In Parma, Duke Charles III. had restored the most infamous system of government imaginable; in that small province, in the space of four years alone, more than three hundred persons had suffered the punishment of the bastinado. On the 26th of March, 1854, Charles III. whilst returning through the city to his palace in broad daylight, accompanied by an officer, was stabbed by a man wrapped in a mantle, who immediately effected his escape. All Parma, it may be fairly said, knew the name of the assassin —who was only intent on avenging a personal injury —but no one would reveal it, so greatly was the sense of right and wrong distorted by hatred of the murdered prince. His widow, Marie Louise of Bourbon, sister of the Count de Chambord, who, as a wife had met with the most brutal treatment, now assumed the regency in the name of her son Robert, and announced her husband's death to her subjects by a proclamation commencing: "It having pleased Almighty God to call to Himself our well-beloved Consort," &c. Every one, in short, felt as if a great incubus had been removed from off the state, but though more humane counsels now prevailed in the Parmese government, Austria continued to domineer as before.

XIII

THE STAR OF PIEDMONT

VINCENZO GIOBERTI who had been, as it were, the prophet of the revolution of 1848, had retired to Paris and there, in 1851, he published a book, entitled *Del Rinnovamento Civile d'Italia*, wherein he pointed out the blunders made by Italians—and also by himself—in 1848 and 1849, and designated Piedmont as the leader of the national movement for the regeneration of Italy, with its centre in a lay and constitutional Rome. The author soon after died (October 16, 1852), just at the time when the direction of the government had passed into the strong, bold grasp of Count Cavour—the statesman who knew how to realise in fact, the ideal of which Gioberti had only dreamed.

Cavour began his work by giving a vigorous impulse to Piedmontese life: railways and telegraph wires soon intersected the country in all directions, and industry and commerce attained a remarkable development, whilst the government actively promoted all such practical efforts; in fact, Piedmont succeeded both in repairing the damage done by the late wars, and in attaining both wealth and prosperity. At the same time, Cavour courageously maintained the independence of the civil, as opposed to the ecclesiastical power, and caused several religious communities to be suppressed, nor did he omit cordially to affirm, on every possible occasion, unmistakably nationalist sentiments. Hence relations with Austria became more and more strained, but so long as Piedmont remained an isolated state, the renewal of the campaign was an impossibility.

It was the Crimean war which furnished an opportunity for Piedmont to assert herself among the European nations. England and France had invited Austria to take part in the contest, but their overtures were not received in so favourable a manner as they had hoped for. Cavour thought that, by intervening in such a momentous question, his country would acquire a distinct importance among the Powers and in spite of many difficulties, he succeeded in effecting a treaty of alliance with England and France (January 10, 1855), whereby fifteen thousand Piedmontese troops were guaranteed for the Crimea.

This treaty, however, provoked opposition in the Turin parliament, for it was difficult to make the deputies understand how participation in a distant campaign could profit the national cause. However, the clear and convincing words of Cavour were successful in persuading parliament to approve of the stipulated alliance, and fifteen thousand Piedmontese troops, under the command of Alfonso La Marmora, set out for the Crimea, and on the far-off banks of the

Photo.] [*Fratelli Alinari, Florence.*

CAMILLO CAVOUR.

Tchernaya (August 16, 1855), redeemed their ancient and glorious flag from the shame of Novara.

Just at this time heavy domestic trials afflicted Victor Emmanuel: his mother, Maria Theresa, his wife, Adelaide, and his brother, Ferdinand, Duke of Genoa, all died within the space of a month. It was an occasion of deep mourning both for him and for the nation which, divested of its former suspicions, was now warmly attached to its monarch. The clerical party tried to make capital out of these misfortunes, by saying that it was a judgment from Heaven on the King for having assented to the recent laws respecting the suppression of religious communities and consequently he was loaded with reproaches which caused him much anguish of mind, but finally his own strength of character reasserted itself. Victor Emmanuel was later enabled to pay a visit to his new allies, and both in Paris and London was received by rulers and people with cordial demonstrations of regard.

At the Congress, held at Paris in 1856, for the ratification of a peace-treaty, Piedmont was represented by Count Cavour who induced the plenipotentiaries of England and France to moot the Italian question at one of their sessions. Accordingly, after the terms of peace had been discussed, the French minister, Walewski, explained that for the due consolidation of the work they had finished, it was necessary that preventive measures should be taken against contingent complications which might arise and—in this connection—pointed out the abnormal condition of affairs in the Papal States, severely censuring, at the same time, the Neapolitan government. Then it was the turn of the English minister, Lord Clarendon, to inveigh against the pontifical rule and denounce it as a scandal to Europe. In his opinion —such was the tenor of his speech—a substitution of lay, for ecclesiastical, government in the Legations, at any rate, with separate administrations and tribunals as well as native militia, ought to be recommended in order to mitigate the wretched condition of the Papal States and modify the existing *régime*. As regarded the kingdom of Naples, he argued that, since the representatives of the different governments in the Congress were all fully agreed in desiring the maintenance of monarchical, and in the condemnation of revolutionary, principles, they ought to protest strongly against a system which served rather to nourish the tendencies of revolt in the heart of a people than to effect the extinction of such feelings. He admitted the hope of the Congress that the peace of Europe might be undisturbed, but since no peace was possible without justice, it was, he asserted, its duty to intimate to the King of Naples that the Powers desired him to ameliorate his system of administration and to grant an amnesty to political prisoners.

The Austrian plenipotentiaries declared they had been neither ordered nor empowered to treat the Italian question, and Cavour could not do less than recognise their inability to discuss matters not mentioned in their formally-received instructions. He asserted, however, that he felt it his duty to emphasise the precarious position of Piedmont: he pointed out how, on the one hand, she was surrounded, throughout the peninsula, by populations in a chronic ferment of revolution owing to the obscurantist and violent action of bad governments, and how, on the other, she was menaced by Austria who, after having been employed by the rulers of the minor Italian provinces to reduce their subjects to obedience, had assumed the military occupation of the greater part of Italy—an occupation which, extending to Ancona on the one side and to Piacenza on the other, was effectually destroying the political balance of power in the various states. The assembly became quite excited, and, before dispersing, voiced a declaration to the effect that the plenipotentiaries of France and Austria were agreed in desiring that the Austrian and French garrisons might leave the Roman territories as soon as possible, without prejudice to the pontifical authority, and that the majority of the representatives assembled recognised the advisability of a more lenient and clement *régime* being adopted by the Italian governments, more especially by that of the Two Sicilies.

On leaving Paris, Cavour put into the hands of Lord Clarendon and Count Walewski a memorial in which, after noting the fact that Austrian opposition had hindered any practical redress of the grievances of Italy, he drew the attention of England and France to the dangers which beset the kingdom of Sardinia—that kingdom which, alone among the Italian states, had raised an insurmountable barrier to the revolutionary spirit, had kept independent of Austria, and had been as well a counterpoise to the latter's invading influence. After this, the Italian question could no longer be regarded as the dream of a few demagogues, since it had been forced on the attention of the Powers of Europe in a congress of diplomatists. It was a great moral success which caused the name of Cavour to be respected throughout the peninsula, and the man himself to be hailed as the direct inspirer of the nationalist movement.

That corner of Italy over which the tricoloured standard still floated became the pole-star of Italian patriots, and many republicans, like Manin—who with Garibaldi, Pallavicino and La Farina, took for a watchword, "Italy and Victor Emmanuel"—now rallied round the Piedmontese standard. The exiles from other states in the peninsula found a new motherland in Piedmont where they could obtain, not only employment and scope for propaganda, but seats in parliament as well. Thus it was that Turin was the birth-place, as it were, of Italian unity.

Some of Mazzini's adherents, however, hoped to forward their country's cause by plots which were specially directed against the King of Naples, as pre-eminently the worst of the rulers. Such was the state of affairs in this kingdom that insurrections became so to speak, a permanent institution. In the November of 1856, Baron Francesco Bentivegna attempted to organise a revolt among the population of Termini in Sicily, but his bands were broken up and he, with other leaders, was shot. It was at this time, too, that a soldier, Agesilao Milano, inflicted a bayonet wound on King Ferdinand, whilst the latter was reviewing his troops in the Piazza d'Armi at

Naples. A few months after, a group of patriots, having left Genoa on the steamer *Cagliari*, bound for Tunis, compelled the captain, on reaching the open sea, to change his course and to head for the Neapolitan coast; they then liberated the prisoners confined on the isle of Ponza, and disembarked at Sapri in the province of Salerno. The rumour spread by the government authorities, that the new-comers were brigands, gained credence with the ignorant population who, instead of helping the revolutionists, joined the Bourbon police. Several skirmishes took place, in the last of which, at Padula, nearly all the insurgents, after an heroic resistance, were either killed or wounded: Carlo Pisacane, their commander, died a glorious death, wrapped in the folds of the tricolour, whilst the wounded, including Giovanni Nicotera, were condemned to the Bourbon prisons.

The result of these ill-fated risings proved, only too well, the impossibility of hoping for success from such movements, and Piedmont appeared more than ever as the one beacon-light which shed its rays on the dark future.

The discussions at the Paris Congress, and the ever-growing prestige that the Sardinian kingdom was acquiring in public opinion throughout Europe, caused Austria some disquietude; the empire which had twice, through superiority in arms and numbers, discomfited the little Italian state, now began to feel uneasy in face of the latter's success in conciliating universal sympathy.

Up till now, Austria had exercised a policy of repression in the Lombardo-Venetian States and had been repaid with a hatred so intense that it was to be read in every glance and heard in every word of the inhabitants, and seemed to rear, as it were, a brazen wall of severance between the governors and governed. The beginning of 1857 was, however, deemed a favourable time by the conqueror for change of *régime* in Lombardy and Venetia. The Emperor of Austria now granted an amnesty to political prisoners, and visited Venice and Milan in person; he then nominated, as governor of the subject-provinces, his brother, Maximilian, a noble-minded man who did his best to merit the good-will of the population. But this change of tactics did not serve to alter the tendency of opinions in the Lombardo-Venetian States, and Manin clearly expressed the feelings of his countrymen when he wrote from Paris: "We do not ask for Austria to become more humane, we want her to go away altogether."[1]

The same day on which the Emperor Francis Joseph had entered Milan, the municipality of Turin awarded a commanding site on the Piazza Castello, for the monument which the Milanese were dedicating to the Sardinian army. The gift of this monument and its public exhibition in Turin so enraged the Austrian government that it recalled its representative from the capital, and thus broke off diplomatic relations between the two countries.

Piedmont consequently assumed, from day to day, a more combative attitude, fortified the citadel of Alessandria, enlarged the arsenal of Spezia and strengthened her connection with France. Cavour had succeeded in impressing on Napoleon III. the necessity of blotting out the memory of the French expedition against the Roman Republic in 1849, by some overt friendly act. The attempt made by the Italian, Felice Orsini, in January, 1858, on the life of the French ruler might have been deemed likely to neutralise the latter's good disposition towards the peninsula, but the fact of Napoleon permitting the publication of the letter, in which Orsini begged him to remember Italy, was taken as a good omen of the Emperor's still unshaken amity.

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[1] Daniele Manin died in exile at Paris in the same year, 1857: ten years afterwards, his remains were transported to Venice and found a last resting-place just without the northern side of the Church of St. Mark.

Meanwhile, in order to sway public opinion yet further in Piedmont's favour, Cavour, in his speech in the Chamber, April 16, 1858, plainly stated the political aims of his country after 1849:

"After the defeat of Novara and the peace of Milan, two lines of policy were open to us. By bowing to an adverse fate, we might have renounced, once and for all, the aspirations which dominated the latter years of our magnanimous monarch, Charles Albert; enclosed within our own borders, we might have shut our eyes to what was passing beyond the Ticino and the Magra; we might have exclusively devoted ourselves to our nation's moral and material welfare; it had even been possible to us, in a certain sense, to have adopted and acted on the principles in vogue before 1848—those principles so lucidly set forth by the deputy, Count Della Margherita, in his *Memorandum*—or we might have fallen back on that most prudent of all policies—a policy which only concerns itself with internal affairs. . . . The other system, on the contrary, lay in the acceptance of realised facts, in adapting ourselves to the exacting conditions of the times, but in preserving, the while, the faith which had inspired the noble exploits of Charles Albert. . . . The first of these systems certainly offered numerous and signal advantages; its adoption would have signally mitigated the serious consequences of the late war of 1848–49, the finances would have been set on a more prosperous footing and the people exempted from many new taxes. But the pursuit of such a policy meant an absolute renunciation of all ideals for the future, and entailed the abandonment of the glorious traditions of the House of Savoy as well as a repudiation of that melancholy but magnificent heritage bequeathed us by King Charles Albert. His generous son could not hesitate; difficult as it might be, he chose the second alternative. . . . If the latter system had good results, it had likewise momentous issues; it was not, and it is not free from perils. In fact, gentlemen, it was impossible for us either to preserve our fidelity to King Charles Albert's principles or to desire the maintenance of a liberal and Italian policy, without provoking the resentment of those Powers whose interests in Italy clash with our own. . . . I do not blink the fact that this conduces to a serious state of affairs—a state of affairs which ought to afford matter for grave reflection to ruler and to people alike.

"In truth, gentlemen, when we come to confront our forces with those of the Powers to whom I have just alluded, we cannot for one instant pretend that our own position is devoid of danger. . . . How shall we escape such perils, how shall we provide against them? We have tried to solve this question by a system of alliances, by seeking to form, maintain and extend confederacies with western Powers who have in Italy no interests contrary to our own. . . . If political difficulties are discussed by means of diplomacy, notes, protocols, memoranda and legal arguments, they are finally decided on the field of action, by the battalions or fleets of one or the other power. Even then, fortune is not always on the side of justice; as in the days of Frederic the Great, she befriends the largest armies: thus, when a nation cannot command big squadrons of her own, she ought to try and supply her deficiency by gaining the support of those belonging to her friends and allies."

In the summer of this year (1858) Napoleon III. and Cavour met at Plombières, and drew up the basis of an alliance between France and Piedmont. On his return to Italy, the minister sent for Garibaldi and warned him to hold himself in readiness. The decisive hour was approaching: all Italy foresaw it and hastened thereto full of ardent anticipations; Mercantini could now set about writing his *Inno Di Garibaldi*:—

"Si scopron le tombe, si levano i morti.
I martiri nostri son tutti risorti!
Le spade nel pugno, gli allori alle chiome,
La fiamma ed il nome d'Italia sul cor
Veniamo! Veniamo, su, o giovani schiere,

Su al vento per tutto le nostre bandiere
Su tutti col ferro, su tutti col foco,
Su tutti col foco d'Italia nel cor.
Va fuora d'Italia, va fuora, chè è l'ora,
Va fuora d'Italia, va fuora, o stranier!"

(The dead have arisen, the graves are reft wide,
Our own beloved martyrs are all at our side,
With swords in their hands and their laurel-crowns won,
Whilst their hearts are on fire with Italia's name.
O hasten, O hasten, ye youthful and brave,
To where the tricolour above you doth wave,
With fire in your hearts and your blades girded on,
And your souls with a noble desire all aflame.
Begone from our Italy's borders, ye strangers,
And free be our country from all foreign rangers!)

XIV

THE WAR OF 1859

On the 1st of January, 1859, at a reception of the *corps diplomatique*, Napoleon III., turning to the Austrian ambassador, uttered these memorable words: "Je regrette que les relations entre nous ne soient pas aussi bonnes que par le passé; dites cependant à votre souverain que mes sentiments pour lui ne sont pas changés." ("I regret that the relations between us are so strained; however, make known to your sovereign that my feelings for him remain unchanged.") The ambassadors present hastened to report this remark to their respective courts, and needless to say, all Europe was impressed accordingly.

Great was the sensation made by Victor Emmanuel's speech at the reopening of parliament, in the Madama palace at Turin:[1] it is impossible indeed to express the enthusiasm, nay, the frenzy of joy

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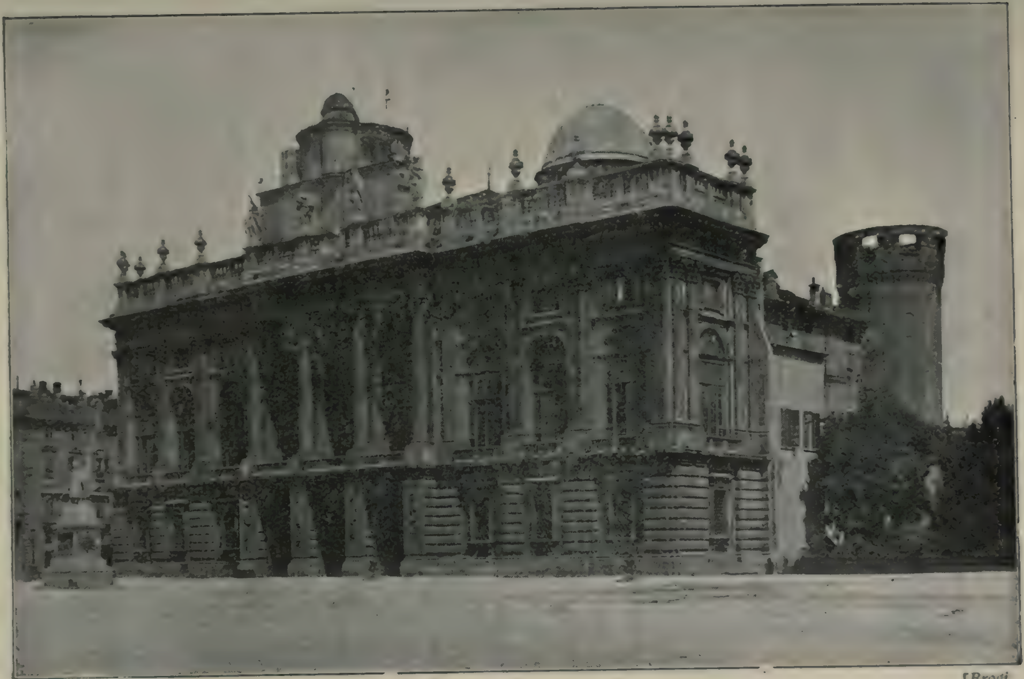
[1] This palace is so called after Giovanna Battista, Duchess of Savoy-Nemours, who, at the beginning of the last century, caused a new wing, with a handsome flight of steps and an ornamental façade, to be added to the old castle.



From a photograph by] [Brogi.

THE MADAMA PALACE, TURIN.

Formerly used as the Senate-House.

evoked thereby, especially when the King delivered with striking emphasis, its concluding words as follows: "Gentlemen, senators and deputies, the horizon above which our new year is appearing, is not wholly unclouded, but, none the less, will you prepare yourselves, with your wonted alacrity, for your parliamentary duties. Encouraged by the experiences of the past, let us bravely face what the future holds in store. That this future may be prosperous, let us base our policy on justice as well as on the love of liberty and country. Our nation, restricted in territory though it be, has acquired prestige in the councils of Europe because of the great ideas it represents and the sympathy it inspires. Our situation is not unfraught with perils since, although we respect treaties, we cannot be insensible to the cry of anguish which reaches us from so many parts of Italy. Strong through our unity and trusting in our sense of right, let us wisely and resolutely await the decrees of Divine Providence."

A few days afterwards, Prince Jérôme Napoleon, cousin of the Emperor, arrived at Turin, to ask the hand of Princess Clotilde, Victor Emmanuel's eldest daughter, in marriage: such an alliance, it was well understood, was to have a political significance apart from all family ties.

In face of the attitude assumed by France and Piedmont, Austria now mobilised a fresh body of troops who were despatched to various posts on the Piedmontese frontier, an action which led Cavour to take the bold initiative of inviting Garibaldi to organise a corps of volunteers, to be called *Cacciatori delle Alpi* ('Hunters of the Alps').

Cavour also now proposed a measure to parliament for passing a vote of credit for fifty million francs.

During the debate which ensued in the Chamber of Deputies (9th of February, 1859), Cavour made the following remarkable speech: "The honourable members who opposed the bill,[1] that has been so favourably received by the parliamentary commissions, have attempted to show that the proposal in question was the result of an ill-considered and provocative policy aimed at dragging, not only this country, but perhaps all Europe into war. One of the speakers among them, pressing his accusations still further, has represented the President of the Ministerial Council as personally instigating this policy, and, laying aside the reserve and courtesy habitual to him, has implied that the said President, in order to find a way out of the difficulties besetting the Ministry, might have motives of his own for urging the country on to war.

"In order to justify myself, as well as the Government, against such a serious indictment, I ought, gentlemen, to repeat the words I used on a solemn occasion last year, in this very assembly; I ought to rehearse the history of the policy of his Majesty's Government since 1849 up to the present day. But I do not wish to trespass anew on your patience, for I flatter myself that the language used on that memorable occasion will still be fresh in the minds of most of you. I shall therefore content myself, gentlemen, with recalling the fact, that our policy has always been consistent since the day when our gracious Sovereign assumed his father's heritage on the field of Novara, up till the time when—a month ago—were uttered those imperishable words which thrilled the hearts of all Italians, and produced a powerful impression throughout Europe.

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[1] Among others Count Solaro Della Margherita, formerly Charles Albert's minister during the absolutist *régime*.

"Our policy, gentlemen, was never provocative or revolutionary, but it was always liberal, national and Italian. We have never, in the past, believed that ✓ we had a right to stir up war, nor do we claim it now, but we have ever cherished the conviction that it was our duty not only to develop, within our own borders, the principles on which the institutions granted by Charles Albert to his people are based—the principles of liberty and nationality—but also to constitute ourselves, in the face of all Europe, interpreters of the needs, the grievances and the hopes of Italy. (Loud cheers.) This programme we have always loudly proclaimed and we have done so, not only in presence of the nation and in the sessions of parliament, but in European councils and diplomatic congresses. Never, in the past, has our policy been impeached as either foolhardy or provocative; rather has it been sealed with the explicit approbation of the best statesmen in Europe—statesmen whose opinion I am sure the honourable member, Count Solaro Della Margherita himself would respect.

"I shall restrict myself, gentlemen, to reminding you of the words I addressed to the representatives of the western Powers at the Paris Congress. Those words were not less clear or less decided than such as have been often uttered in these walls; if more diplomatic in form, in substance they differed not from those which the most eloquent speakers have on their lips in their most enthusiastic moments. After the Congress of Paris, our policy did not change, neither did it become either aggressive or provocative.

"I venture to challenge my honourable opponents by asking them to cite acts more provocative and more explicit than those I have just now quoted. It is true that, after the Paris Congress, we deemed it necessary to provide for the country's defence in the most practical and efficient manner possible, and that we have begun to erect fortifications at Alessandria. But if this has been done, it is because what happened in Paris had convinced us that the difficulties of the Italian question would never be solved by pacific and diplomatic means: nevertheless, gentlemen, in regard to this, we have not overstepped our rightful prerogative, nor have we been guilty of a genuine act of provocation.

"Since then, our diplomatic relations with Austria have been interrupted, and the causes which led thereto, I need not here recall; let it suffice to say that the initiative did not come from us. The right honourable member, Count Solaro Della Margherita cannot either in this case, accuse us of having been hasty in giving provocation.

"What have been our acts of provocation and precipitancy later on? I repeat, I challenge my honourable opponents to cite them. This only have we done: we have not desisted from our purpose, but have continued, whenever we had an opportunity, to call the attention of Europe to the miseries of Italy, to her abnormal condition and to the dangers that such miseries and this same abnormal condition involve. And, may I be allowed to ask, was this policy judged as hasty and provocative by the other European Powers? I remember well that, at the Paris Congress, the protest of Piedmont—and considering the nature of the document, I admit it was a strongly-worded one—received the avowed approval of England and France, and not approval only, since those two great Powers felt bound to support Sardinia in debating the Italian question in Congress, and this they did—especially England—in language that, in convincing force, yields to none used by us in the diplomatic documents already published.

"And, has our subsequent policy been severely judged? Have those Powers confessed themselves misled by us? Have they had to admit that Piedmont had deceived them as to the state of Italy? . . .

"'But if your policy,' say the Opposition, 'has been neither hasty nor provocative, why so many measures of defence? Why concentrate all the garrisons of the kingdom on the frontier? Why hurry on the armaments of Alessandria and Casale? Why come and ask us for a considerable loan to provide for defensive measures? Austria has no aggressive intentions; she has respected and will continue to respect treaties; if you do not attack her, she will always behave to you in the most friendly and affectionate manner possible.' (Laughter.)

"It seems to me that the honourable member, Count Solaro Della Margherita, was singularly confiding when he counselled us not only to disband part of our army in order to repair our disordered finances, but to trust implicitly in the good will of Austria and the support of our allies. (Laughter.)

"I believe, gentlemen, that his first piece of advice would be practicable if, after disbanding part of the army, other men, with other principles, could be, at the same time, called in to direct the destinies of our country. In such a case, our safety against Austria, even without soldiers, would be guaranteed. (Cheers.) But as I believe that at least the second part of such counsel—understood but not expressed—can only be carried out with the support of a majority of the nation, I think that it would hardly be prudent to repose this unlimited trust in Austria's benevolent intentions.

"On the other hand, let us see if the statement of the honourable member, Count Solaro Della Margherita, is warranted by facts. Already, before my time, my honourable friend Mamiani, in an eloquent speech, had recalled the reiterated aggressive policy of Austria; he showed you how, for the last ten years, she has extended her substantial dominion from the banks of the Po to the furthest limits of the Adriatic as far as Ancona, how, in spite of treaties, she has increased the defences of Piacenza, and how the garrison of that city has encroached even to the surrounding forts. But, gentlemen, what avails it to rehearse such stale facts, for it is recent facts with which we are more especially concerned.

"As has been demonstrated to you, in the speech made to the Chamber by my colleague, the Minister of Finance, the Austrian government, in spite of an utter absence of provocation on our part or on that of any Italians whatever, announced to Europe that it was about to send a fresh body of troops into Italy, and proceeded to fulfil its purpose with a rapidity and precipitation so amazing that it reminds us of the prompt and decisive warfare of the First Empire. For some days, all the ordinary means of transport, as well as all railway accommodation, were monopolised in the interests of the Austrian government; on the lines between Vienna and Trieste and between Venice and Milan, nothing else was to be seen, but men, horses and munitions of all kinds—and where were these troops stationed? Were they quartered in the large cities where popular risings might reasonably have been dreaded? No; they were, instead, despatched to our own frontier, in the towns least likely to breed revolt. In a word, Austria has assumed towards us, not a defensive, but a distinctly offensive attitude, and all this time, I repeat, no provocation whatever had been given on our side, we had practised no warlike manœuvres of any kind; a truce, besides, reigned in the sphere of diplomacy, and some time had elapsed since Piedmont had had occasion to call the attention of Europe to Italian affairs. Hence, I believe, I am justified in proclaiming aloud, in the presence of

Parliament, of the nation and of Europe, that if there has been provocation, it was offered, not by Piedmont, but rather by Austria.

"Well I know that Austria protested her love of peace and her respect for Piedmontese institutions, both in cabinet councils and in diplomatic utterances. But, gentlemen, is this the first time that warlike intentions have been cloaked under the semblance of pacific words? Count Solaro Della Margherita is too well versed in the history of diplomacy to maintain that it is so. Prudence, therefore, and our bounden duty alike compel us to make prompt and decisive provision for the future.

"The Ministry did as much as lay within the limits of the executive power; in concentrating on the frontiers all its available forces, and, in what exceeds those limits, it appeals to you for the means to provide efficiently for the defence of the nation and for the maintenance of its honour, as well as of its most sacred interests. . . . . .

"I think, gentlemen, that I have demonstrated that our policy has not been hasty and that our actions have not been provocative. While calling upon you now, for the means of resistance, we have no intention of changing our attitude, nor of proceeding to direct acts of defiance, but, on the other hand, we do not intend to be intimidated by Austrian threats, especially when Austrian men and arms have been despatched to our frontier. (Cheers.) These principles, frankly and faithfully proclaimed, will, I trust, receive the approbation, not only of Parliament, but of all right-feeling men throughout Europe. (Hear, hear.)

"I rely, gentlemen, on your being satisfied with these explanations, and trust you will not hesitate to give a favourable reception to our demand. I am confident that the answer which the voting is now going to furnish, will clearly prove to all Europe that, whatever be the character of our internal debates, we are unanimous in our decisions, when not only the safety and independence, but also the honour of our country is at stake." (Loud and prolonged cheers in the Chamber and from the tribunes.)

Cavour insisted in maintaining that Austria must be the aggressive party, for, in the treaty with Napoleon III., it had been stipulated that France would come to the help of Piedmont only in case of the latter being attacked by Austria. Hence, Cavour was obliged to seek every means of putting his country into the attitude of the provoked party. How many disappointments, uncertainties and anxieties crowded those days, from February to the end of April! In order to understand the enormous difficulties overcome by Cavour, it would be necessary to follow literally, day by day, the history of that period. In March, he repaired to Paris to ascertain Napoleon's action: it was too evident, however, that French public opinion was unfavourable to the war, and the Emperor was wavering. Russia and England suggested that the question should be solved by a congress, to which proposal Napoleon III. acceded: Cavour now believed all was lost, since Piedmont could not refuse without putting herself in the wrong. Fortunately, the difficulty was solved by Austria boldly insisting that Piedmont should disarm before being represented at the congress, and on the 23rd of April, this demand was enforced by an *ultimatum*, to be answered within three days.

Now ensued a genuine declaration of hostilities, and most joyfully did Victor Emmanuel make the following announcement to his troops: "Soldiers! Austria who masses her armies on our frontiers, and threatens to invade our country because liberty and order rule there, because concord and affection between sovereign and people—and not force—sway the state, because there, the anguished cry of oppressed Italy is listened to—Austria dares to tell us who are only armed in our own defence, to lay down those arms and put ourselves in her power. Such an outrageous suggestion surely merits a condign response, and I have indignantly refused her request. I announce this to you, in the certainty that you will make the wrong done to your king and to your nation, your own. Hence, mine is a proclamation of war: arm yourselves, therefore, in readiness for it!

"You will be confronted by an ancient enemy who is both valiant and disciplined, but against whom you need not fear to measure your strength, for you may remember with pride Goito, Pastrengo, Santa Lucia, Sommacampagna and, above all, Custoza where four brigades fought for three days against the enemy's five *corps d'armée*. I will be your leader. Your prowess in action has already been tested in the past, and when fighting under my magnanimous father, I myself proudly recognised your valour. I am convinced that, on the field of honour and glory, you will know how to justify, as well as to augment, your military renown.

"You will have as comrades those intrepid French troops—the conquerors in so many distinguished campaigns—with whom you fought side by side at Tchernaya, whom Napoleon III., always prompt to further the defence of a righteous cause and the victory of civilisation, generously sends in great numbers to our aid.

"March then, confident of success, and wreathe with fresh laurels that standard which, rallying from all quarters the flower of Italian youth to its threefold colours, points out your task of accomplishing that righteous and sacred enterprise—the independence of Italy, wherein we find our war-cry."

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The Austrian army, to the number of one hundred and seventy thousand men—besides those remaining in the Lombardo-Venetian fortresses—was commanded by General Gyulai, the successor of Radetzky who had died the year before, at the age of ninety-one. Gyulai meant to attack and rout the Piedmontese army before it could join its French allies. On the 29th of April, he crossed the Ticino, then spreading out his forces along the Sesia, he reconnoitred as far as Chivasso. These districts abound in cultivated rice-fields and are intersected by many canals: it was therefore easy by flooding the ground, to hinder the march of the Austrian troops on Turin.

Meanwhile, the Piedmontese army, composed of sixty thousand men, awaited the arrival of the French forces on the right bank of the Po. On the 12th of May, Napoleon III., already preceded into Italy by one hundred and twenty thousand of his men, disembarked at Genoa, and, on the 14th, was at Alessandria, where, near the mouth of the Tanaro, the allied armies met. The Austrian troops covered a long tract, from Novara to Vercelli, then extended down the line of the Sesia as far as the Po and from here reached the mouth of the Tanaro. Gyulai, seeing the enemy concentrated on the right bank of the Po, believed that Napoleon III. intended crossing that river in the direction of Piacenza—as Napoleon I. had done in 1796—and so massed his troops towards the south. At this juncture, a portion of his army encountered the French and Piedmontese at Montebello where the extreme right wing of the allies was posted. The Austrian general met with such a determined resistance that he imagined this must be the centre of the enemy, and felt convinced that he had guessed the latter's intention; he therefore caused his army to pursue its march southwards. By this movement, Vercelli was abandoned by the Austrians and immediately reoccupied by the Piedmontese.

Napoleon now prepared a bold flank movement, by leaving the Po for the Ticino, and to mask this manœuvre, ordered the Piedmontese to make an advance. Thus, whilst Victor Emmanuel, at the head of his men, flung himself from Vercelli on Palestro—meriting, by the skill of his military tactics, the acclamations of a regiment of Zouaves whom he headed as corporal—the French, taking advantage of the Alessandria, Casale and Novara railway, made for the bridge of Buffalora over the Ticino. Only then did Gyulai perceive this clever stratagem which threw Lombardy open to the allies, and he was consequently obliged to cross the Ticino, to block the enemy's way to Milan.

On the 4th of June, at Magenta, nearly the whole of the Austrian army engaged the French forces; the battle, which was of a most desperate character, lasted all day, and was remarkable for the prodigies of valour performed. The Austrians, driven back into Magenta itself, maintained, even in that village, such a stout resistance that they had to be dislodged by house-to-house fighting.

On the 8th of June, Victor Emmanuel and Napoleon III. made their triumphal entry into Milan—now freed from the Austrian yoke. On the same day, a French corps repulsed the Austrians at Melegnano, whilst Garibaldi entered Bergamo from the other side. Garibaldi who had been the last to leave Lombardy in 1848, was now the first to set foot in its territory in 1859. Since the 23rd of May, he had led his own *Cacciatori* to the Lombard shores of Lake Maggiore, had defeated the Austrians at Varese, entered Como, routed the enemy afresh at San Fermo, and was now proceeding to Bergamo and Brescia, with the intention of reaching the Alps of the Trentino, to cut off the enemy's retreat.

After the battle of Magenta, Gyulai had been dismissed from the command, and his post was assumed by the Emperor Francis Joseph himself,

NAPOLEON III.

assisted by the aged Marshal Hess. On the night of the 23rd of June, the retreating Austrians crossed the Mincio, but, a few hours after, retraced their steps and took up their position on the hills to the south of the Lake of Garda. On the morning of the 24th, the Franco-Piedmontese army commenced their march at dawn and shortly afterwards, to their great amazement, encountered the Austrians who, they imagined, had crossed the Mincio the night before. The struggle was a terrible one; in fact, the line covered by the fighting extended a distance of five leagues.

A series of hills, dominated by Solferino and San Martino, formed the positions the Franco-Piedmontese army had to assail. The French contested Solferino with the Austrians, and after a hotly disputed battle of more than twelve hours, succeeded in occupying it. The Piedmontese, led by Victor Emmanuel, made a violent assault on San Martino; four times in succession did they take it, only to lose it again, but the fifth time, they made themselves masters of it for good and all. By six o'clock in the evening, the strength of the Austrian army was everywhere broken: just then, a frightful hurricane, heralded by clouds of dust and accompanied by torrents of rain burst over the two armies, and thus favoured the flight of the Austrian battalions. Napoleon III. now fixed his headquarters at Cavriana, in the same house that Francis Joseph had tenanted during the action. On that vast battlefield, the combatants had numbered three hundred thousand men—one hundred and sixty thousand Austrians and one hundred and forty thousand French and Piedmontese—of all these, after that sanguinary struggle, twenty-five thousand were left dead or wounded.

After a few days' rest, the Franco-Piedmontese army crossed the Mincio and besieged Peschiera. Now there seemed a chance of the Italians fulfilling the hope they had so long cherished, of expelling the foreigners. They confidently awaited news of fresh feats of arms in the Quadrilateral and of the success of the fleet sent by France and Piedmont into Adriatic waters, but instead came the most unexpected tidings imaginable.

On the 8th of July, Napoleon III. had met Francis Joseph, and three days later, the preliminaries of peace were signed at Villafranca. By this treaty, Austria was to cede Lombardy to Napoleon who was to relegate it to Piedmont; the Italian States were to be amalgamated into a confederation under the presidency of the Pope, but Venice, though forming part of this same confederation, was to remain under Austrian rule. Great indeed was the mortification of all Italy, on hearing such terms of peace announced. Cavour, who had devoted all his marvellous talents to realising the ideal of national redemption and had believed his ends so nearly attained, hastened to his prince and, in a melancholy interview, advised him not to accept such conditions. But Victor Emmanuel, although it caused his very heart to bleed, signed the treaty, adding, however, these words: "I approve as far as I myself am concerned;" whereupon, Cavour sent in his resignation.

What was the motive that had induced Napoleon to break his lately-made promise of freeing Italy from the Alps to the Adriatic? There were many reasons which influenced him; the sight of that immense battlefield, strewn with the bodies of the slain, the determined resistance of the Austrian soldiers, the difficulties which would have to be faced in the Quadrilateral, the hostile attitude of Prussia, were all motives which combined to sway the French Emperor's mind. But there was also another reason which counted for much. Napoleon had been drawn into this campaign without really knowing the state of Italian public opinion; he wished Italy to be free "from the Alps to the Adriatic," but did not want Italian unity: rather did he desire the formation of a confederacy wherein France could always make her own predominance felt in the peninsula. Scarcely had he arrived in Italy, than he was forced to see that Italian ideals were very different from what he had imagined them to be. Trials had but ripened the virtues of prudence and wisdom in men's minds: in 1859, the people were little likely to repeat the blunders of 1848 or 1849, and there were now no longer discussions over forms of government, but everywhere a unanimous resolve to rally round the liberal monarchy of Savoy.

On the first proclamation of the war, the Grand Duke of Tuscany had been compelled to fly from his states (April 27th [1]). Napoleon had imagined that in this province—the ancient stronghold of Italian municipalism—it would be easy to form a new kingdom with a Bonaparte to wear its crown. With this aim in view, the fifth French army corps, commanded by Prince Jérôme Napoleon, had disembarked at Leghorn, under the pretext of organising the military forces of Central Italy and harassing the Austrians on the extreme left. But the Tuscans soon divined the real intention of the French, and the provisional government in Florence, previously instituted under Bettino Ricasoli, suddenly avowed its intention of uniting Tuscany to Piedmont, whereupon, Prince Napoleon, seeing the true attitude of the country, found it advisable to affect to promote the annexation.

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[1] Leopold II. never entered Tuscany again, and died in 1870, leaving as heir to his pretensions, his son Ferdinand.

The duchies of Parma and Modena had also been deserted by their dukes,[1] and the papal legates had to quit Romagna whose inhabitants now suddenly announced their fusion with Piedmont. Indeed this impulse for annexation now began to spread, and to the cry of "Victor Emmanuel," the Marches and Umbria revolted against the Pontiff, but in these regions, the movement was sanguinarily suppressed by the Swiss troops.

Napoleon III. was displeased to note how all Italian aspirations tended to unity and thus it was that he had signed the treaty of Villafranca. Peace was concluded at Zürich in the November following, and there the idea of an Italian confederation was mooted afresh.

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[1] They never re-entered their kingdoms; Robert of Parma, who was then only eleven years old, died in 1907, whilst Francis V. of Modena died in 1875, and by his death, the male line of this branch of the house of Austria-Este became extinct.

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The fugitive princes ought to have returned to their states, but how was it possible? They certainly could not hope to be recalled by their subjects for the latter had expelled them; occupying their kingdoms with troops of their own was out of the question, because they had none; foreign aid, moreover, was not to be looked for, since Napoleon III. had established the principle of non-intervention. Then the people of Central Italy showed themselves capable of a bold political *coup*; under the leadership of Bettino Ricasoli, dictator in Tuscany, and Luigi Carlo Farini—who held a similar office in Emilia and Romagna—they declared, by means of their assembled deputies, their earnest desire to be incorporated with Piedmont.

The new ministry formed at Turin, after Cavour's resignation, had pursued its way timidly, fearing to rouse the suspicion and displeasure of the European Powers, but at this momentous and difficult juncture, Cavour again accepted the premiership (January 20, 1860). He immediately gave a bolder impetus to King Victor Emmanuel's policy by sending a note to all the Powers, in which he asserted it to be now impossible for Piedmont to offer any resistance to the inevitable course of events. Cavour imagined that since Napoleon III. had obtained the imperial throne by a *plébiscite*, he would not deny the validity of such a claim in Italy, and forthwith submitted this idea to the Emperor who was bound to approve of it. But the French nation was discontented, imagining that the blood it had shed for Italy had profited nothing, and was moreover very averse to the formation of a powerful kingdom beyond the Alps.

Now it was that Cavour determined on a great sacrifice. In the convention of Plombières, it had been agreed that, in the event of a kingdom of eleven million inhabitants being established from the Alps to the Adriatic, Piedmont would cede Savoy to France. As, however, by the treaty of Villafranca, Venetia had remained under the Austrian yoke, no more had been said about cession of territory, but, by the annexation of Central Italy, the number of Victor Emmanuel's subjects was now augmented to eleven millions. In order to induce Napoleon III. to approve of such an annexation, Cavour offered him Savoy, but the Emperor claimed Nice as well, and the minister was obliged to accede to his demands. On the 24th of March, 1860, Savoy, the cradle of the reigning dynasty, and Nice, Garibaldi's native province, were ceded to France. Garibaldi, deeply wounded in his tenderest feelings, violently abused Cavour in parliament, but the Chamber, although it respected the hero's emotion, ratified the treaty which was, at this crisis, a necessary concession.

At the same time, Parma, Modena, Romagna and Tuscany expressed by universal suffrage their cordial desire for union with Piedmont, and, a few days later, the fusion of these provinces with the dominions of the House of Savoy was an accomplished fact. On the 2nd of April, 1860, at the opening of the new parliament, Victor Emmanuel could thus sum up the results already obtained by the nationalist party—"in a very short space of time, an invasion repulsed, Lombardy liberated by valiant feats of arms, Central Italy freed by her people's wonderful strength, and to-day, assembled around me here, the representatives of the rights and hopes of the nation."

XV

THE MARCH OF 'THE THOUSAND'

WHILST the second war of independence was being waged in Upper Italy, Ferdinand II. of Naples died at the palace of Caserta (May 22, 1859), leaving behind him a memory universally execrated. His place on the throne was filled by his weak-minded, ignorant and bigoted son, Francis II., commonly called Franceschiello, at that time twenty-three years of age. Victor Emmanuel, who respected the family ties which bound him to Francis—the son of that Maria Christina of Savoy whom the Neapolitans surnamed 'the Saint'—advised the young King not only to grant a constitution, but to send his troops to join forces with those of Piedmont in the war being carried on against Austria. But Francis, carefully following in his father's footsteps, contemptuously refused this counsel, and allied himself instead to Pius IX. who was just then intent on quelling the revolts in Umbria and the Marches. The cruel methods of repression adopted by the papal emissaries were efficient in reimposing the pontifical yoke on those provinces, but none the less did the latter groan under the infliction. In order to prevent fresh outbreaks, the Pope recruited soldiers from all parts of Europe and placed at their head the French general, Lamoricière. Francis II. would have liked to help the Pontiff wrest Romagna from Victor Emmanuel—for this region had at last freed itself from papal dominion—had not Neapolitan affairs now monopolised his attention.

The great victories gained by the Franco-Piedmontese army at Solferino and San Martino, as well as the annexations in Central Italy, had created a deep impression throughout the kingdom of Naples: the names of Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi were on all men's lips, and liberal demonstrations on a small scale took place in many of the communes. At the beginning of 1860, Francesco Crispi, a Sicilian exile, twice visited his native island to discover the leanings of the population and to fan patriotic hopes. In the March of that same year, another of his compatriots, Rosalino Pilo, sailed from the Ligurian coast, with a few followers, for Sicily, in order to rouse his countrymen to arms, but the insurrection had already broken out before his arrival on the scene. On the 4th of April, the tolling of the bell of the convent of La Gancia, at Palermo, sounded the signal for revolt; in the city itself, the insurgents were vanquished, but their bands continued to scour the country districts.

When these events were known on the mainland, they stirred up there a desire among Italians of proffering aid to the Sicilians; to this end, Agostino Bertani enlisted soldiers and Giuseppe La Farina collected money and arms. Garibaldi was then asked to lead the expedition, but he hesitated, fearing that the rash enterprise of Sapri might be repeated ; finally, however, he yielded to the urgent persuasions of Nino Bixio and Francesco Crispi.

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On the evening of the 5th of May, 1860, the streets of Genoa were thronged by great crowds of people ; everywhere the news was repeated : "They start to-night." In the midst of this popular agitation, the government alone seemed to play a passive and inactive part. Cavour had well understood the importance of a successful result to this undertaking : if it failed, Garibaldi would alone be responsible ; if it triumphed, the national cause would be inconceivably benefited : he therefore astutely refrained from overt action in the matter, but indirectly promoted the enterprise in every possible way.

On the night of the 5th–6th of May, Nino Bixio affected to take violent possession of two ships in the port of Genoa—the *Lombardo* and the *Piemonte*—belonging to the Rubattino company, with whom he had already preconcerted the scheme, and transported them to the neighbouring village of Quarto where twelve hundred volunteers embarked, to go to the aid of the insurgent islanders.

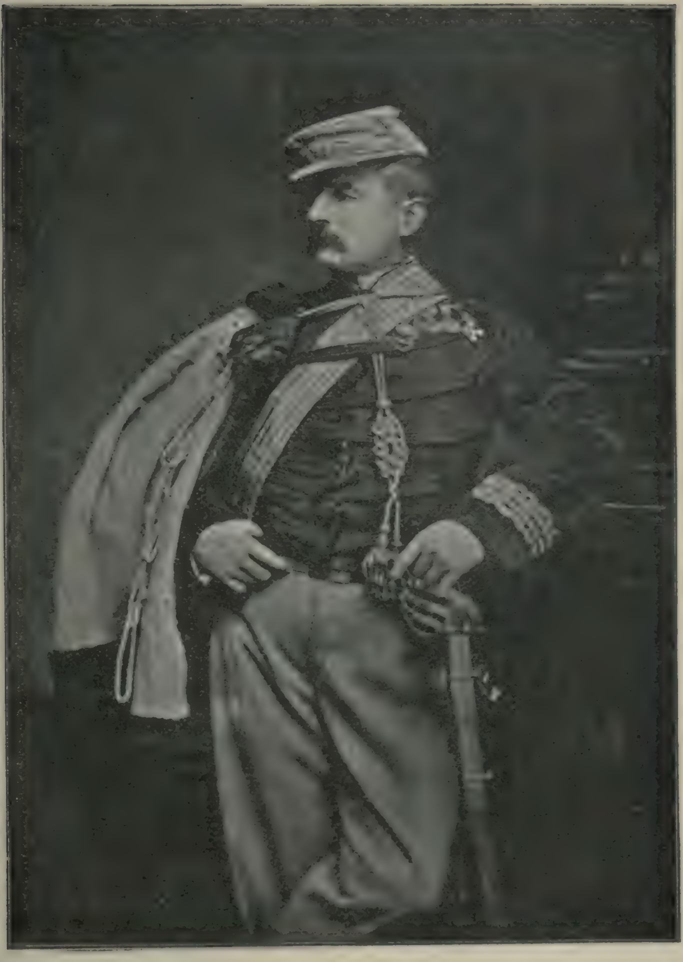
The recollection of this expedition always roused Garibaldi to such enthusiasm that, in relating the departure of 'the Thousand' in his *Memorie*, his style rises to quite a poetic elevation :—

"'*Wherever any of our brothers are fighting for liberty, thither all Italians must fare*': so ye said and went accordingly, without asking how many enemies you had to face, without knowing if your number of volunteers would suffice, and without any guarantee that your means for the arduous undertaking were adequate. Ye hastened thither, defiant alike of the elements, as of the difficulties and dangers with which enemies and self-styled friends beset your path. In vain did the numerous Bourbon fleet patrol your waters, and seek to imprison indomitable Trinacria in a ring of steel; in vain did it plough the Tyrrhenian sea in every direction, in order to annihilate you in its depths: all, all in vain!

"Sail on, sail on, ye argonauts of liberty! There, on the far-off southern horizon, shines the pole-star that will steadfastly point you out your course and guide you to the fulfilment of your great enterprise, even as it guided the sublime singer of Beatrice, and all the great souls who came after him, through the darkness of the tempest—the star of Italy. . . .

"Sail on! Sail on, intrepid mariners of the *Piemonte* and *Lombardo*—noble vessels of a yet nobler crew! History will surely commemorate your illustrious names, yea, even though calumny may do its worst! And when the remnant of 'the Thousand,' that Time's scythe may spare to hoary age, shall sit by the domestic hearth and tell their grandchildren the wondrous story of those deeds in which they played an honoured part, well will their youthful listeners remember the names of those who shared in that most gallant enterprise."

In that valiant company of brave men, figured



NINO BIXIO.

Nino Bixio—according to Garibaldi, the principal actor in this bold undertaking—Crispi, Türr, La Masa, the brothers Cairoli, Sirtori, Mosto and Ippolito Nievo, a young Paduan poet, who met a tragic death in the following year by shipwreck.

The *Lombardo* and the *Piemonte* cast anchor at the promontory of Telamone where the Piedmontese commandant of the fortress provided 'the Thousand' with some rifles and a small cannon. Garibaldi deemed this a good opportunity for despatching sixty men to the Papal States, with the object of diverting the attention of the Powers and making believe that the expedition was organised against the Pontiff himself. Then the two vessels headed for Sicily.

On the 11th of May, they came in sight of Marsala, in whose harbour were two English men-of-war—the *Argus*, stationed there to protect British interests, and the *Intrepid*, bound for Malta. Two Neapolitan cruisers had left the port a little before to reconnoitre the coast. In less than two hours, the majority of Garibaldi's men, under the sagacious direction of Türr, had landed, but just then, up came the two Neapolitan cruisers which were scarcely within range of fire, before they began to bombard the Garibaldian ships, as well as that part of the shore chosen as a landing-place by the volunteers. The captain of one of the English vessels now boarded one of the Bourbon warships, to beg the commander to spare the magazines and the buildings protected by the British flag. Meantime the last of the volunteers disembarked and landed their munitions of war, and the Bourbon sailors retired in indignation, towing the empty *Piemonte* in their wake and leaving the *Lombardo* submerged in the harbour. A few of the volunteers at once betook themselves to the telegraph-office, to prevent any transmission of messages to the Bourbon government, and arrived there just as the *employé* was sending a telegram to the effect that two Sardinian vessels had arrived and were disembarking troops. One of the party, with a practical knowledge of telegraphy, continued the message thus: "Have made a mistake—are only two trading vessels:" on receiving the answer—which consisted of the one word, "Idiot!"—he promptly cut the wire.

From Marsala 'the Thousand' proceeded to Salemi where Garibaldi issued a manifesto, assuming, in Victor Emmanuel's name, the dictatorship of Sicily. The Neapolitan government, thus unsuccessful in preventing these 'filibusters'—as they stigmatised them—from landing, now began to realise the gravity of the situation and to flood the European cabinets with protests against Piedmontese perfidy, whilst it sent orders to Palermo to despatch General Landi, with a strong body of troops, against Garibaldi.

The two armies encountered one another on the 15th of May, at Calatafimi, on a spot called 'Pianto dei Romani.' Landi had taken up his position on a ridged height and there awaited the Garibaldian onset. The struggle was desperate: the volunteers, though badly armed and much outnumbered by the enemy's numerous battalions, rushed with such determination to the attack, that the Bourbons, after prolonged resistance, had to beat a retreat.

Garibaldi then marched on to Palermo and on the 20th of May came in sight of the city. Here he resorted to a very adroit manœuvre; skirting the hills which surround Palermo, he proposed to effect a more easy entrance into the city by enticing a great portion of the garrison on his track. He succeeded, in fact, in luring them to follow him on the Corleone road; then, leaving a few soldiers there, he led some of his chosen troops on to Palermo by a steep and circuitous route, and boldly charging with the bayonet, victoriously entered the city on the 27th of May. But Bourbon troops yet held the fortress and a Bourbon fleet still occupied the harbour; hence, Palermo was bombarded from both sides. During the night, the volunteers, aided by the citizens, erected barricades and thus organised a resistance to the enemy's forces who after some days of fierce fighting, were compelled to sue for an armistice and, on the 6th of June, had to abandon their positions.

In the meantime, as the revolution was spreading throughout the island, the Piedmontese government could adopt a bolder policy; consequently, new vessels were sent from Genoa, carrying reinforcements of volunteers to the Garibaldians, headed by Medici and Cosenz.

The Bourbon troops were concentrated at Milazzo, and there Garibaldi proceeded to give them battle. At first, victory favoured the Neapolitans; only towards evening, did it revert to their opponents. By the 20th of July, the date of the engagement at Milazzo, the whole island could be said to have defeated the Bourbon power, to which the citadel of Messina alone remained faithful, but the garrison was compelled to refrain from bombarding the city.

Francis II., having thus far warded off disaster, thought well to grant a constitution and to promise an alliance with Piedmont, but it was now too late. The Piedmontese government, however, was seriously embarrassed, since all the European Powers, except England, evinced disapproval of its policy; in fact, Victor Emmanuel was obliged to write to Garibaldi, begging him not to cross the Straits. But at the same time, Cavour also sent word to him, by Admiral Persano, that it was no use to leave the enterprise half fulfilled. Hence, Garibaldi, ignoring Victor Emmanuel's public declaration, crossed the Straits on the night of the 19–20th of August.

Meanwhile, Cavour was seeking for every possible means to foment the outbreak of a revolt at Naples, mainly through the agency of the Marquis Di Villamarina, the resident Piedmontese ambassador. The expected rising did not take place at Naples, however, but in the Basilicata, and on the 16th of August, the city of Potenza hoisted the tricoloured flag to the cry of "Italy and Victor Emmanuel!" The Bourbon troops, who were stationed in Calabria, lost heart at the news of this insurrection breaking out right in their midst, and several thousand men, under the command of General Briganti, refused to fight; their leader, accused of treason, was murdered a few days after, by the very soldiers who had deserted him.

The revolution now became general throughout all the Neapolitan provinces. Garibaldi, leaving his troops behind and followed only by a few officers, now took the road to Naples, amidst the acclamations of the people who hailed him as a deliverer; from Reggio Di Calabria to the capital, his march was one grand triumphal progress. On the 6th of September, Francis II. quitted Naples and invited the sailors of his navy to follow him to Gaeta, but instead of obeying him, they promptly joined the Piedmontese fleet already in the harbour. The following day, Garibaldi made his entry into Naples, amid the ovations of a people mad with joy.

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However, the work was not easy to fulfil; fifty thousand picked troops, loyal to the Bourbon dynasty, were still concentrated in the fortresses of Gaeta and Capua, protected by the line of the Volturno; nearly the whole of Europe was inimical to the revolution, whilst the Marches and Umbria were agitating for freedom. As if all this were not enough to intensify the difficulties of the situation, Garibaldi, whose impressionable temperament caused him to be easily influenced by those around him, now began to lend a willing ear to the headstrong counsels of Mazzini who had suddenly made his appearance at Naples.

Piedmont desired the immediate annexation of the Neapolitan provinces, in order to show the European Powers an accomplished fact. Garibaldi, on the contrary, wanted first to liberate Rome, then Venetia and finally wrest Nice from France; only then, in the

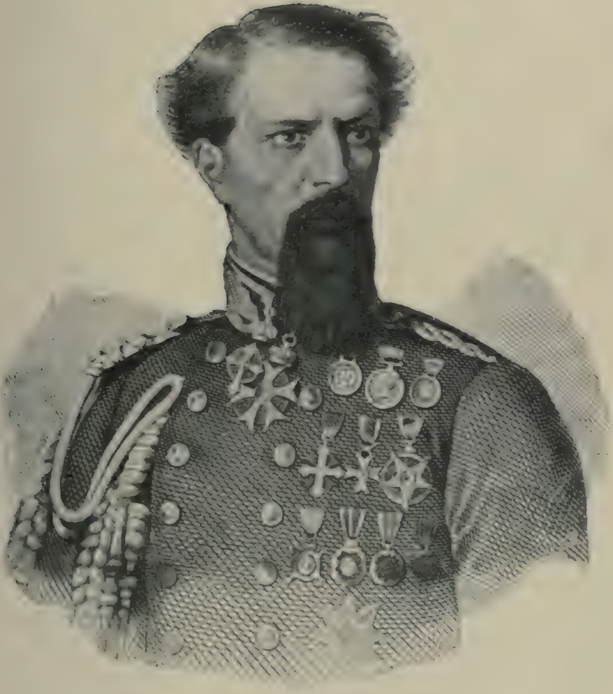
Capitol itself, would he have been ready to place his sword in Victor Emmanuel's hand. Cavour was no less bold or resolute than Garibaldi, but the former well understood the impossibility of achieving such ends at the present juncture; hence, arose a feud between these two great men, which much aggravated their mutual relations—already embittered by the cession of Nice to France.

Under existing circumstances, Cavour thought that the King ought to assume the leadership of the national movement, and therefore decided on the bold initiative of an expedition into Umbria and the Marches, which would not only serve to unite Romagna with the Neapolitan States, but would also give the King a chance of curbing the headstrong impetus of the revolution and guiding it more safely to its goal. On the 7th of September—the same day on which Garibaldi entered Naples—an ambassador was despatched to Rome, to represent to the Pope that Victor Emmanuel's feelings were deeply hurt by the news of the massacres which were being daily committed in the Marches and Umbria by General Lamoricière's mercenary troops and to announce further, that if the latter were not disbanded, the Sardinian monarch would feel bound to intervene for the purpose of protecting the population. On the 11th of September, even before receiving the Pontiff's reply—which was a very sharp one—the Italian soldiers crossed the frontier.

It was necessary to act with great promptitude in order to nullify the opposition of the Powers who had all recalled their ambassadors from Turin — for

England alone favoured the idea of a united Italy. The two able generals, Cialdini and Fanti, who commanded the Italian forces, therefore prepared for immediate action. On the 18th of September, the papal army was discomfited at Castelfidardo: Lamoricière then retired to Ancona where, besieged by land and blockaded by sea, he was obliged to capitulate on the 26th. Victor Emmanuel then put himself at the head of his troops and marched into Neapolitan territory.

Whilst these events were taking place, the Bourbon staff, with fifty thousand men massed on the banks of the Volturno, was meditating the bold manœuvre of breaking through the line of Garibaldi's army and thus opening up the road to Naples, where a counter-revolution was being hatched. The assault on the Garibaldian camp took place on the 1st of October and occasioned the most sanguinary battle in the whole of the campaign of 1860. Towards two o'clock in the afternoon, the nationalist soldiers seemed routed, but finally, Garibaldi, from the high ground where he was stationed, carried the situation and disposed his forces so satisfactorily, that at five o'clock he was able to telegraph the message to Naples: "Victory all along the line." His joy at this success, however, was sadly damped by the loss of many of his best men, more particularly that of Pilade Bronzetti who, with three hundred comrades, had devoted himself to certain death for the good of the cause. On the morrow, the Bourbons again returned to the charge, but the result was a decisive triumph for the nationalists.



ENRICO CIALDINI.

Meanwhile, Garibaldi's political views had undergone an important modification, owing to the influence of Giorgio Pallavicino—now nominated prodictator of Naples—who succeeded in weaning the great leader from republican tendencies and in convincing him of the necessity of annexation. A *plébiscite* of the inhabitants of the Neapolitan and Sicilian States having been convoked, they thereby unanimously declared their wish to support the monarchy as represented by Victor Emmanuel.

Thus fell at last the Bourbon *régime;* only England, amid the prevailing distrust of Europe, applauded its fall. Lord John Russell, in a note, dated the 27th of October, written in French to Hudson, the English ambassador at Turin, after recalling the Neapolitan revolutions of 1820 and 1848, commented in strong terms on the justice of the Bourbons' expulsion, comparing it to the English revolution against the Stuarts in 1688, and he concluded his letter in the following terms: "We must admit that the Italian revolution has been effected with singular moderation and tolerance. The downfall of the existing *régime* has not been followed, as is so often the case, by outbreaks of popular vengeance, and nowhere have extreme democratic notions obtained. Public opinion has neutralised all excesses of party-triumph, whilst the principles respected by a constitutional monarchy have been associated with the name of a prince who is the representative of an ancient and glorious dynasty. In view of the causes and conditions which have determined the Italian revolution, her Majesty's Government cannot see sufficient reasons to justify the severe blame that Austria, France, Russia and Prussia have attached to the action of the King of Sardinia. Her Majesty's Government would prefer to contemplate the pleasing spectacle of a people building up their liberties and consolidating their independence, amid the sympathies and the good wishes of Europe."

On the 26th of October, Victor Emmanuel and Garibaldi met on the Teano road, when the popular hero hastened to hail the monarch as 'King of Italy.' A few days later, Garibaldi, with exemplary magnanimity, resigned his leadership to Victor Emmanuel and retired to the isle of Caprera. These two noble and high-souled men were bound together by the closest sympathies; both possessed the same openness of disposition, the same readiness for enterprise, the same ardent love for Italy; indeed, they well typify the full and complete harmony existing between the Italian people and the dynasty of Savoy.

Now, the duty of accomplishing the work so gloriously begun by the volunteers, devolved on the regular army. On the 2nd of November, the fortress of Capua was taken and Gaeta was besieged. The difficulty of this investment was increased through the obstacles offered by the French fleet to the blockade by sea. Victor Emmanuel, thereupon, remonstrated with Napoleon III., pointing out that this was a violation of the Emperor's own principle of non-intervention, so, in the January of 1861, France withdrew her fleet. Gaeta, hemmed in by land and water, was soon reduced to extremities and, on the 12th of February, Francis II. embarked on a French vessel to take refuge in the Papal States, and the following day, the fortress surrendered. Later on, the garrisons of Messina and Civitella Del Tronto laid down their arms, and thus Victor Emmanuel's power was now recognised throughout the whole kingdom.[1]

In February, 1861, the first Italian parliament met in Turin. In his inaugural address, the King made special mention of his gratitude to the English: "The government and people of England—that ancient home of liberty—have stoutly affirmed our right to be the arbiters of our own destinies, and of that ready sympathy, so freely bestowed, we shall always cherish a grateful memory."

Although Victor Emmanuel was now reigning over the greater part of the peninsula, nominally he was simply 'King of Sardinia.' On celebrating his birthday, on the 14th of March, parliament unanimously voted in favour of declaring him 'King of Italy,' and, on the 17th of March, 1861, this proposal was ratified by the law of the realm. In this same month, the new kingdom of Italy was formally recognised by England and, in the following April, by Switzerland and the United States of America.

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[1] Francis II. died on the 27th of December, 1894, without leaving descendants; his claims were inherited by his brother Alfonso, Count of Caserta.

Photo.] [Fratelli Alinari, Florence.

THE MONTECITORIO PALACE, ROME.

Where the Chamber of Deputies meets.

XVI

THE ROMAN QUESTION

GREAT events had happened in a very short time, but two momentous difficulties still demanded solution —Rome and Venice. Cavour, whose courage and strength of mind were rather increased than daunted by overwhelming perplexities, now resolutely set himself to solve the Roman question.

On the 11th of October, 1860—that is to say, at a time when the Bourbon army was still being actively mobilised, when nearly all the representatives of the Powers had been recalled from Turin, and the Emperors of Austria and Russia, as well as the King of Prussia, were assembling in congress at Warsaw to concert action against Piedmont—Cavour made a speech in the Chamber on the necessity of Rome becoming the capital of Italy. His remarks ran as follows:

"For a minister to have to express an opinion on the great questions of the future is a serious matter. However, I maintain that a statesman, in order to be worthy of the name, ought to have certain fixed points, which should be, so to speak, the pole-stars to guide his course, and although he may reserve to himself the option of changing such, as events shall dictate, he should none the less keep his eyes fixed on the beacon which, for the time being, happens to be his chosen one. During the last twelve years, King Victor Emmanuel has been the pole-star which has led us to the ideal of national independence; how will this affect Rome? (Signs of marked attention.) Our star, gentlemen, I frankly avow, points to that Eternal City which is clothed with the accumulated renown of twenty-five centuries, as the glorious capital of the kingdom of Italy. (Loud and prolonged cheers.)

"But perhaps such an assertion will not fully satisfy the honourable member who has asked what means we have of attaining this end. I might answer him thus: 'I will reply to you, provided you first tell me what will be the state of Italy and Europe in six months' time; but if you cannot furnish me with the data for the solution of this problem, I fear that neither I, nor any of the calculations of diplomacy, can give you the unknown quantity you seek for.' (Laughter.) However, gentlemen, if I cannot indicate the particular means, I can point out what seem to me to be the great factors which will enable us to attain our end. . . .

"I believe that the solution of the Roman question ought to be the outcome of that conviction which is ever deepening in modern society—above all, in the minds of the Catholic community—namely, that liberty is highly favourable to the development of genuine religious feeling. (Bravo! hear, hear!) When this opinion shall be generally held, gentlemen—and the behaviour of our army, as well as the action of our gracious King, alike tend to show it will not be long first—when this opinion shall have acquired force in the minds of other populations and shall have taken firm root in men's minds, then, I unhesitatingly affirm, will the great majority of sincere and enlightened Catholics recognise that the august Pontiff, who is our Church's Head, will be enabled to exercise his sublime functions far more freely and independently, when supported by the affection and respect of twenty-two millions of Italians, than if defended by twenty-five thousand bayonets."

Shortly after the annexation of the kingdom of Naples, the fixing of the capital became a burning question. Turin, situated as it is on the furthest frontier of Italy, could not be the most important city of a kingdom that reached to the outermost limits of Sicily. In March, 1861, the Roman question was submitted to parliament, and on the 25th of the same month Cavour uttered these memorable words:—

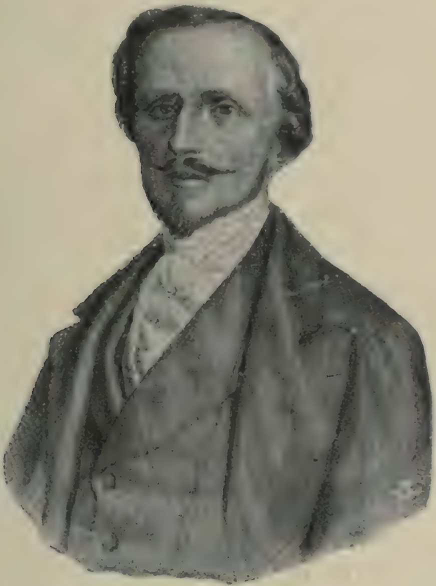
"The question of the capital, gentlemen, is not determined either by climatic, topographical or even strategic reasons; if such as these had weight, it is certain that London would not be the capital of Great Britain, nor, perhaps, would Paris be that of France. The choice of a capital is influenced rather by great moral reasons, and it is popular feeling which decides such questions. Now Rome combines all the historical, intellectual and moral conditions which ought to hold sway in the capital of a great state; she is the only one among the cities of Italy that has not exclusively municipal traditions; her whole record, from the time of the Cæsars down to the present, is the history of a city whose importance infinitely transcends that of her own territory and is, therefore, pre-destined to be the capital of a great state. Convinced, nay, profoundly convinced as I am of this truth, I feel compelled to publish it to you, as well as to the nations, in the most solemn terms, and, under such circumstances, feel bound to appeal to the patriotism of all Italians and those who are the representatives of Italy's most illustrious cities. Therefore, let discussion on the subject be at an end, so that we ourselves, as well as those who have the honour of being our country's envoys to foreign Powers, may be able to declare to Europe: 'The necessity of making Rome the capital is recognised and proclaimed by the entire kingdom.' (Cheers.)."

The debate on the Roman question lasted till the 27th of March: on that day, Cavour concluded his arguments thus:—

"The Ministry has shown you that it hopes to solve the Roman question by convincing sincere Catholics that the Church's independence is not in the least prejudiced by amalgamating Rome with Italy; that, if such a principle were admitted by the faithful themselves, agreement with France—who in this matter represents, and holds she ought to represent, Catholic opinion—would be facilitated; that, if good Catholics were thus convinced, and agreement with France were established, we should have grounds for hoping that the Pontiff himself would recognise the soundness of our contention, but that, if he did not do so, the responsibility of what might afterwards happen would not rest with us.

"It appears to me impossible to formulate in more precise terms this programme, of which an adequate *résumé* has been made from the order of the day by the deputy, Buoncompagni. Nor, gentlemen, let it be said that I am deceiving myself. It appears to me that the question of the independence of the Sovereign Pontiff being made to hinge on the temporal power, is an error which can be mathematically demonstrated to good Catholics. With the latter we would thus reason: the temporal power is a guarantee of independence when it furnishes its possessor with arms and money to defend the same, but when these temporalities of a prince, instead of supplying him with arms and money, oblige him to go and beg both from other governments, it is evident that such a temporal power as this is an argument not for independence, but for absolute dependence. (Bravo!) The man who lives quietly at home, with no debts and no enemies, seems to me a thousand times more independent than the wealthy owner of vast possessions, who has provoked the resentment of his fellow-citizens and can only go out protected by *bersaglieri* and soldiers. (Bravo! hear, hear!) Hence it appears to me we ought to reckon on the support of good Catholics in this matter.

"It only remains to persuade the Pontiff himself that the Church can yet be independent, though deprived of her temporalities, and to him I think we ought to make some such representations as the following: 'Holy Father, the temporal power is no longer a guarantee of your independence; renounce it, and we will give you that liberty which, for three centuries, you have vainly sought from the great Catholic Powers, and of which you tried to snatch some vestige by means of concordats. By these same concordats you, Holy Father, were obliged to concede—in return for privileges, nay, less than privileges—the use of spiritual arms to secular governments who granted you some scanty measure of freedom: well, we are ready to offer you, in all its fulness, that which you have never been able



BETTINO RICASOLI.

to obtain from those who boasted, nevertheless, of being your allies and devout sons; we are ready to proclaim this great principle throughout Italy: "A free Church in a free State!" (Hear, hear!)

"'Your partisans among the faithful recognise, as we do, the existing state of affairs, that is to say, they see that the temporal power can no longer exist on its present footing. They suggest reforms to you which you, as Pontiff, are unable to carry out; they propose the promulgation of laws based on principles which are at variance with the majority of those you are bound to defend. These friends of yours are always insisting on rebuking you for your obstinacy, but you maintain a stout resistance—and rightly so. We do not blame you when, to those who wish you to enforce conscription in the army, you answer that you will not impose compulsory celibacy on young men from the ages of twenty to twenty-five, that is to say, the age when the passions are strongest. We do not reproach you for objecting to a proclamation of religious liberty and educational freedom, for we comprehend your standpoint in the matter: you are bound to teach certain doctrines, hence, you cannot allow the right of teaching all kinds. It is impossible for you to accept the advice of your Catholic partisans, because they ask what is not in your power to give; thus you are constrained to occupy an abnormal position as Father of the faithful and are now compelled either to keep the people under the yoke by the aid of foreign bayonets, or to assent to the principle of liberty and its constitutional and widespread application in the foremost of the Latin nations—in the country which is, moreover, the natural home of Catholicism.'

"In my opinion, gentlemen, it is impossible that such a proposition as this, made in all sincerity and loyalty, should meet with any but a favourable reception. . . .

"In proof of the sincerity of our proposals, I would remind you that these are conformable to the whole of our system. We believe that the principle of liberty should dominate all phases of society, whether religious or civil; we would have it in economics as well as in the administration; we want full and absolute freedom of conscience; we desire all the political liberty compatible with the maintenance of public order, and hence, as necessary consequences of such a condition of things, we believe it needful to the harmony of the edifice we are raising, that this principle be likewise applied to the relations of Church and State. (Hear, hear.) . . .

"In time, this truth will be endorsed by public opinion, and although I am unable to prophesy when it will be thus accepted — for by time alone do opinions acquire irresistible force—I do not think I shall be far wrong in predicting that, in a century which has been invaded by the locomotive, it will not be long before these ideas are generally received. When that happens, as I have already said, the concert with France will be easy.

"I hope that, given these two conditions, that is to say, Catholics having been convinced, and the concert with France accomplished, we may come to an understanding with the Holy Father. I do not wish to face the idea of such an agreement being impracticable, but I think that if we, on our part, offer no hindrance to it, blame will not attach to us; moreover, even supposing such agreement were not forthcoming, Rome could be united to Italy without fatal consequences, either to ourselves or to the Church. . . ."

The debate closed with the following motion—proposed by the deputy Buoncompagni—being unanimously carried: "The Chamber, having listened to the ministerial declarations, having ascertained that the dignity, decorum and independence of the Pontiff and the full liberty of the Church are secured, having agreed with France as to the application of the principle of non-intervention, and having desired that Rome, being chosen as the capital by universal suffrage, should be united to Italy, passes to the order of the day."

After this, Cavour immediately proceeded to treat with Rome on the separation of the spiritual and temporal powers. But just at this time, an unfortunate occurrence took place which was a source of keen vexation to the great minister. Whilst a discussion was going on as to the rank of the Garibaldian officers who had entered the regular army, some of the soldiers in question, imagining that the government did not justly estimate their services, incensed Garibaldi against Cavour, and stirred up afresh the memory of the former's bitter grievance occasioned by the cession of Nice to France. Garibaldi hastened to Turin and, in a painful scene in the Chamber, declared he would never shake hands with the man who had made him a foreigner in Italy. The King was much hurt at this dissension breaking out between his two most eminent subjects, and tried to bring about a reconciliation. Finally, the disputants shook hands in the Armoury, of the royal palace at Turin. We have an eloquent proof that this reconciliation had been a sincere one, in a letter written by Garibaldi to Cavour on the 18th of May, 1861, which contains these words: "Trusting in your superior capacity and strength of will to work the country's good, I shall await the voice of happy omen that shall summon me once more to the field of action."

But now the health of Cavour, worn out by the labours of these last years and by the prolonged mental strain they involved, began to fail. He was struck down by fever on the 29th of May, 1861; on the 2nd of June, he was up and at work all day, but in the evening had a relapse and, on the 6th of June, he died. Victor Emmanuel, who went in person to visit the great statesman on his death-bed, wished that his remains should repose in the Superga, near the resting-place of the members of the House of Savoy. It was a noble and kindly thought on the King's part, but Cavour had left instructions that his body should lie in the family grave in the village of Santena, near Chieri; consequently, his wish was respected.

Differences had often arisen between Victor Emmanuel and Cavour, but they were invariably made up, because both felt that concord in their relations was necessary to the country's welfare. Cavour always said that Italy could never have been united without Victor Emmanuel, but well did the latter understand that the exceptionally intricate difficulties of Piedmontese politics had never been surmounted except for the powerful genius of his renowned minister.

Lord Palmerston spoke of Count Cavour as one "whose memory will live embalmed in the grateful recollection of his countrymen and in the admiration of mankind, so long as history records his deeds:" Lord Russell alluded to him "as a man destined to stand conspicuous in history," whilst Sir Robert Peel declared him to be "the most conspicuous statesman that ever directed the destinies of any nation on the Continent in the path of constitutional liberty." And the estimates of these three great Englishmen who had such an excellent grasp of politics, have been ratified by posterity: already an entire generation has passed, yet the name of Cavour, instead of being obscured, becomes daily more illustrious, and the work he achieved seems more and more wonderful.

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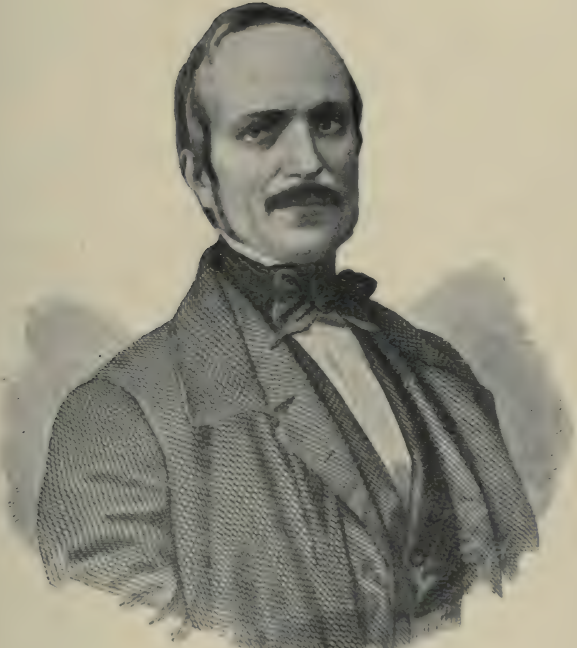
With Cavour's death, the most glorious chapters of the story of Italian unification are brought to a close. The ministers who, in turns, succeeded him—Ricasoli, Minghetti, Rattazzi, Farini, La Marmora, Lanza, &c.—proposed to continue his methods and traditions, but none of them could mount to the heights he had scaled, or even approach them.

It is true that the disadvantages under which the new kingdom laboured were immense; the four dynasties of Naples, Tuscany, Modena and Parma were all aiming at recovering lost thrones; Austria, from the fortresses of the Quadrilateral, was watching the growing nation with a suspicious eye and threatened invasion; the thunderbolts of papal excommunication were hurled against the lately-erected edifice, with intent to blast it; Napoleon's policy of favouring Italian aspirations towards unity had been arrested by the clericalism which was now the paramount influence in his *milieu*, and, whilst nearly all the European Powers were mistrustful of Italy's resurrection to an awakened life, the Garibaldian party was manifesting its impatience to wrest Rome from the Pope, and Venice from Austria. The populations of the various provinces, accustomed for centuries past to live divided, failed to amalgamate; some of them, oppressed till now by tyrants who were the enemies of all progress, found themselves far in the rear of the march of civilisation; the finances were exhausted; the army was yet only in course of formation; the administration was disorganised and as if that was not enough, brigands swarmed in the southern provinces.

Brigandage was the constant scourge of the south of Italy, in consequence of the feeble governments hitherto existing there, and now, between the disappearance of the ancient order and the establishment of the new, it rose again in all its evil strength and even assumed a political importance. The proscribed King, Francis II., who was then at Rome, sent arms and money as well as colonels' and generals' commissions to the most infamous malefactors, such as Cipriano La Gala, Crocco, Caruso and many others who infested the Abruzzi, the Basilicata and Calabria. Several thousand brigands rallied round these chiefs, and in 1861, a band actually succeeded in taking possession of the little town of Melfi.

A short time after, in September of the same year, Don Josè Borjès, a Spanish adventurer and an enthusiast for the legitimist cause, thought to reinstate the Bourbon sovereignty in the Two Sicilies, and to this end, disembarked on the Calabrian coast, put himself at the head of the brigands and, with them, occupied many villages of Calabria and the Basilicata. His troops preceded him, devastating, sacking and murdering as they went, but their leader soon perceived the Bourbon cause was but ill-served by wretches only animated by a greed for rapine. He decided therefore to renounce such followers, but before he could do this, the brigands, after having despoiled him of all he possessed, deserted him. With nineteen companions, he tried to reach the frontier of the Papal States in order to let Francis II. know by what depraved villains his cause was supported, but falling into the hands of the Italian troops, he was shot before he could fulfil his purpose. However, brigandage did not cease with the death of Borjès, but rather developed in ferocity, though it lost, by degrees, its political character. To extirpate it, the government had to employ both arms and money, and also to enact and enforce with inexorable rigour, terribly severe laws; but in fulfilling these functions, inglorious and painful as they were, the Italian army gave magnificent proofs of patriotic devotion.

Meantime, the 'party of action'—so called because it wished to take bold measures for the occupation of Rome and Venice—was promoting an agitation and,



URBANO RATTAZZI

in 1862, profiting by the access to power of Urbano Rattazzi, a man of democratic tendencies, decided on initiating the contest. Garibaldi himself organised armaments, but the government, intimidated by the attitude of Austria, was obliged to sequestrate a consignment of arms at Sarnico and to arrest those who, in Brescia and Bergamo, were inciting the population to war.

Just then, three hundred bishops, assembled at Rome from all parts of the world, presented a memorial to Pius IX., maintaining the necessity of upholding the temporal power. As if in response to this challenge, Garibaldi went into Sicily and to the cry of "Rome or death," began to enrol volunteers. The government was seriously embarrassed: Rome was still occupied by French soldiers, and Napoleon III., urged thereto by the clerical party, gave out that the entrance of Garibaldians into the Pontifical States would be considered by him as a declaration of war on the part of the Italian government. Rattazzi thus saw himself obliged to hinder any attempt that might be made by Garibaldi. The latter, with two thousand five hundred volunteers, arrived in Calabria from Catania, and took up a position on the heights of Aspromonte. There he found himself surrounded by a corps of *bersaglieri*, commanded by Colonel Pallavicini. It was generally hoped among the Italians that no blood would be shed; a few shots, however, were fired on either side, and Garibaldi was wounded (August 29, 1862). He was conducted to the fortress of Varignano, on the Gulf of Spezia, and being set a liberty a few months later, returned to Caprera.

In the September of that year, there was a mass-meeting in London convened in Garibaldi's honour. British sympathies were cordially extended towards Italy, and Garibaldi, under the pretext of consulting celebrated English surgeons about his wound, started for London in March, 1864. He hoped, in reality, to induce the British government to concede him support, as well as money, to carry on a war against Austria. All classes of society rivalled one another in showing their admiration; never had Londoners received any guest with such intense and universal demonstrations of enthusiasm (April 11, 1864), but the government, although distinctly manifesting its good will, managed to divest this visit of any political character.

All this time, the question of the capital had daily become a more pressing one; even Napoleon saw that he must soothe the feelings of the Italians who fiercely resented the presence of French troops in Rome, and to this end, induced the minister, Minghetti, to assent to a convention, on September 15, 1864. By this argument France promised to withdraw her troops from Rome, but the Italian government was compelled to respect, and ensure respect for the frontier of the Papal States, and as a pledge that it had renounced the idea of making Rome the capital, the latter was to be transferred from Turin to Florence. Those Turinese, who in 1860–61 had loudly applauded Cavour's plea for making Rome the capital, were much chagrined at the idea of the Savoy eagle abandoning the shores of the Po, to settle, not on the banks of the Tiber, but on those of the Arno. Riots even, inimical to the ministry, broke out in Turin, and blood was shed. But, notwithstanding, the capital was transferred to Florence in 1865—a year that happened to be the sixth centenary of the birth of Dante, when from all parts of the country, spontaneous homage was offered to the birthplace of Italy's most illustrious poet.

XVII

THE WAR OF 1866

FROM the beginning of 1861, Cavour had meditated an alliance with Prussia. When, on the accession of King William, General Alfonso La Marmora had been sent to congratulate the latter, he was instructed to represent to the Prussian government that, "in view of the analogy existing between the historical traditions of Prussia and Piedmont, Italians were wont to regard the former as a natural ally"—words which were to bear fruit in the future, although the time was not then ripe. When the first signs of enmity began to arise between Prussia and Austria, La Marmora happened to be at the head of the Italian ministry, and, at the instance of Bismarck, gladly carried this formerly-made suggestion into effect. Thus it was that, on the 8th of April, 1866, a secret treaty was signed at Berlin, by which Prussia and Italy bound themselves to give reciprocal aid in an offensive and defensive war against Austria. The last-named power, seeing herself menaced on both sides, offered, through the mediation of Napoleon III., to cede Venetia to Italy, if the latter would abandon the Prussian alliance, but Victor Emmanuel, always loyal to his promises, refused to accept such terms.

On the 20th of June, war was declared against Austria. The command of the Italian army was vested in the King who chose General Alfonso La Marmora as the head of his staff, whilst to Garibaldi he entrusted the leadership of the numerous volunteers assembled from all parts. The King cherished the enterprising notion of sending Garibaldi to the Dalmatian coast where the valiant general might have successfully stirred up the people, and, by marching in the direction of Vienna, would have compelled a great part of the Austrian troops to have met him. Garibaldi was enthusiastic for this plan, but it was not followed, because in Victor Emmanuel's *entourage*, it was feared that the popular hero might thus acquire too much prestige, so the volunteers were consequently only despatched to the mountains of Trentino.

The Italian army, including the Garibaldians, contained mobilised forces to the number of more than two hundred and twenty thousand men, the greater part of whom were concentrated on the banks of the Mincio; but a strong body, commanded by General Cialdini, was massed in the province of Ferrara, on the lower Po. The Austrian army was inferior in numbers, and comprised about one hundred and fifty thousand men, but it had the advantage of a strong position in the fortresses of the Quadrilateral, and was commanded by the Archduke Albert.

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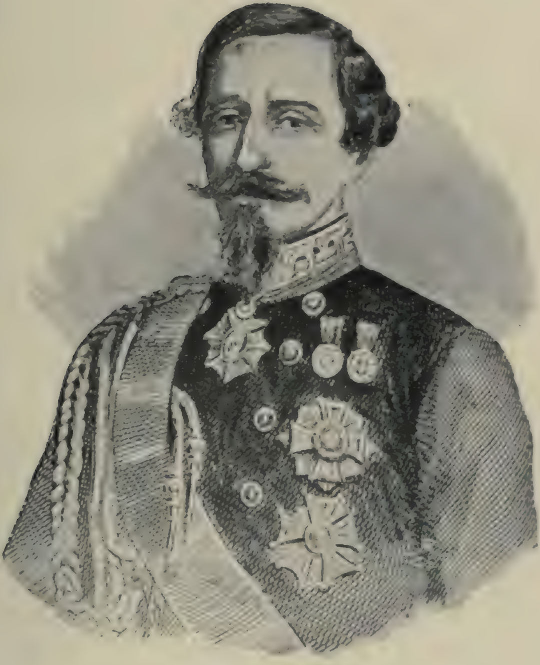


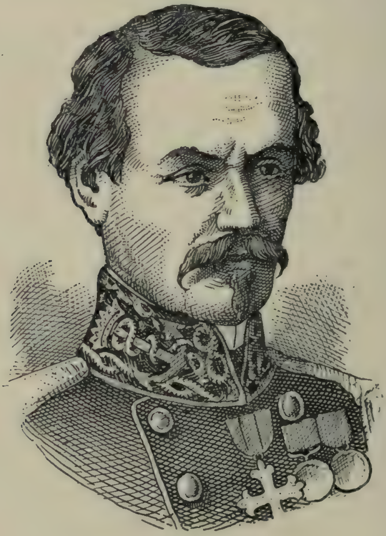
ALFONSO LA MARMORA.

On the 23rd of June, the Italians crossed the Mincio; on the 24th they encountered the Austrian soldiers on those same heights of Custoza which had been so fatal to the Piedmontese forces in 1848. The battle was stoutly and valiantly waged, but through lack of skilful direction, hardly a third of the Italian army assembled on the Mincio, was enabled to fight. La Marmora gave proof of much personal courage by galloping through the hottest of the fight, and himself leading the various divisions to take up their positions, but he also displayed, at this crisis, his lack of the qualifications necessary to a commander-in-chief. The heroism of individual companies, acting confusedly and without unity of direction, as well as the valour of the King's two sons, the Princes Humbert and Amedeo—who received their baptism of fire in this campaign—all availed nothing: the Italian army, after a terrible struggle, had to beat a retreat and re-cross the Mincio. After the certain expectation of victory that had been cherished in Italy, the news of this engagement appeared a twofold disaster; the losses of the army were greatly exaggerated, and terrible discouragement prevailed.

Happily, affairs went better in Germany: on the 3rd of July, Prussia dispersed the Austrian army at Sadowa. Then Austria, desirous of recalling her troops from Italy to defend her now apparently threatened capital, renewed her proposals — again through Napoleon — to cede Venice to Victor Emmanuel, but this time also, the King refused what seemed to all, a humiliating agreement.

Hence it was decided on rigidly maintaining the offensive, and General Cialdini received orders to cross the Po and make his way into Venetia, whilst a great part of the Austrian troops had now left for Vienna. The Italian advance, therefore, was made comparatively easy; by the 20th of July, Cialdini had reached the Piave. At the same time, Garibaldi at the head of his volunteers, marched into the Trentino, overcame a desperate resistance at Bezzecca, and arrived within a few miles of the city of Trent itself.

The Italians trusted implicitly in the strength of their fleet, commanded by Admiral Persano, a man who had won a reputation far in excess of his deserts. During the first days of the war, he had remained absolutely inactive in the harbour of Ancona, whilst the Austrian admiral, Teghetoff, had displayed great audacity and resolution by boldly challenging his opponent to give battle. Finally, indignant public opinion coerced the government to give Persano orders to act at once on the offensive, or else to resign his command. On the 16th of July, Persano weighed anchor at Ancona and proceeded to attack the island of Lissa; the assault was still being carried on when, on the 20th of July, the Austrian fleet appeared and at once engaged the Italian vessels. At this juncture, Persano left the flagship, the *Re d'Italia*, for the *Affondatore* which he kept out of the line of battle—an unpardonable act which being unknown, moreover, to the rest of the fleet, resulted in the latter being without any leadership whatever. In the meantime, Teghetoff, from his admiral's vessel, was directing an assault on the *Re d'Italia* which suddenly sank with its commander, Faà Di Bruno, and six hundred men, of whom hardly a third were saved. Another Italian gunboat, the *Palestro*, took fire, and Alfredo Cappellini who was in command, seeing that a powder explosion was inevitable, had the wounded lowered on to other vessels, but himself refused to quit his post; a short time after, he and his three hundred sailors, to the cry of "Italy for ever!" were blown into the air. The Austrian fleet thereupon retired in good order, without being molested by Persano who withdrew to Ancona



ALFREDO CAPPELLINI.

The disaster at Lissa was a cruel blow to the Italians who had been so convinced of the superiority of their own fleet to the Austrian. Admiral Persano, at first charged with treason, was afterwards deprived of his command for incapacity and negligence.

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On the 22nd of July, Prussia initiated an armistice with Austria, without any preconcerted agreement thereon with Italy. Acutely anxious times were these for the Italian government; for it well knew that Austrian forces, emboldened by their lately gained victories, might at any moment swoop down upon the peninsula. But necessity dictated an immediate suspension of arms which led to the armistice of Cormons (August 12th), and, ultimately, to the peace of Prague. By the terms of the latter, Austria ceded Venetia to Napoleon III. who made it over to Victor Emmanuel, after a local *plĕbiscite* had proved the inhabitants of that province unanimously in favour of annexation to the kingdom of Italy. At Vienna, a treaty relating more particularly to various Italian and Austrian interests, was concluded, and now it was that the Emperor of Austria restored to Italy her famous 'iron crown' which, in 1859, had been taken from Monza to Vienna.

Certainly, the method by which Venetia had been acquired, was a humbling reflection for Italians, but when, on the 7th of November, 1866, Victor Emmanuel made his entry into the beautiful city of the sea, as splendid in her festal adornment as in the glorious days of her prosperity, such reflections were forgotten in the absolute thrill of exultation that her people felt at being free from the foreigners' yoke, whilst they raised the joyful cry of "Italy for ever! Long live the King!"

XVIII

ROME THE CAPITAL

THE Roman question still awaited solution. Napoleon III., in pursuance of the convention of 1864, had, by degrees, withdrawn his troops from Rome: thus, by the end of 1866, the seventeen years of foreign occupation were at an end. The Pontifical government now found itself face to face alone with its subjects. Thereupon, whilst some secret societies in Rome were seeking to foment an insurrection, the 'party of action' determined to interfere, and with the greater readiness, since Urbano Rattazzi was again at the head of the Italian ministry. Garibaldi traversed several provinces of the kingdom to incite the citizens to war. By September, 1867, the preparations for the rising were well matured, but on the 23rd of that month, the Italian government who, up till then had allowed them to go forward, was sufficiently influenced by the attitude of Napoleon III., now posing as the defender of the Pope, to have Garibaldi arrested and sent to Caprera where his movements were watched by four vessels.

Notwithstanding the absence of Garibaldi, however, bands of volunteers were organised and marched into the Pontifical States. On the evening of the 22nd of October, an abortive attempt at revolt was made in Rome by Monti and Tognetti, two masons, who tried by means of a mine, to blow up the Serristori barracks, whilst a hundred young men took possession of Porta San Paolo ; but this movement had scarcely broken out before it was quenched in blood. Hoping to find the city still in insurrection, the brothers Enrico and Giovanni Cairoli, with seventy followers, passed the frontier of the Papal States, to hasten to the aid of the insurgents : they descended the Tiber to within two miles of Rome, and there took up a position on the Monte Parioli, near a villa called Glori, in expectation of receiving news of the rising. They were surprised instead by a strong body of the papal police, and a hand-to-hand struggle rather than a battle ensued wherein seventy in all fell dead or wounded. Enrico Cairoli died on the spot : Giovanni, after receiving serious wounds, was made prisoner, but obtained his liberty through the mediation of an English bishop, only to drag out, for little more than another year, an existence full of suffering, caused by the wounds he had sustained. Thus, this valiant family, of which one had already fallen gloriously at Varese in the campaign of 1859, and another had died in Sicily of exhaustion during the toilsome march of 'the Thousand,' now yielded a fresh contingent to the band of Italian martyrs in the cause of freedom. A few days later, the papal troops surrounded a factory in the Trastevere quarter of Rome, wherein several patriots were engaged in making cartridges. The besieged retorted on their assailants by fusillades and bombs, but were vanquished and in great part massacred. Among the dead was Giuditta Tavani-Arquati who, in spite of her sex, had courageously assisted in the defence.

Napoleon III., indignant at the aspect events had assumed in Italy, prepared a fleet at Toulon to go to the aid of the Pontiff: such a step was all the more promptly taken, seeing that Garibaldi had effected his escape from Caprera. On the night of the 16th of October, the veteran hero had put out alone in a small boat, managed to evade the surveillance of the watchful crews, and had reached Maddalena whence he made for Tuscany. Meantime, Rattazzi, feeling himself incapable of coping with the existing state of affairs, resigned. During this ministerial crisis, no one had the courage to take decisive steps, and thus the Garibaldian movement made progress. Garibaldi, having arrived at Florence, publicly incited the population to war, and then went to put himself at the head of the armed bands already assembled. Having passed the frontier, he encountered and defeated the papal troops at Monterotondo, on the 26th of October. But although a French division had disembarked at Civita-Vecchia, Garibaldi prevailed on his men to continue the struggle. On the 3rd of November, there was another engagement at Mentana, where at first the old hero succeeded in routing the papal troops, but in the rear came the French soldiers. The volunteers, armed with bad muskets, could not hold out for long against the *chassepots* of the French, which, according to the opinion expressed in such *mal-àpropos* terms by General De Failly, the commander of the expedition, "worked wonders." Garibaldi, having retreated, disbanded his men, and, re-crossing the frontier, was once more sent back to Caprera by order of the Italian government. Thus failed the Garibaldian expedition of 1867.

As if to emphasise the estrangement which these events produced between Italy and France, Rouher, the president of the French ministry, uttered the following words in the Chamber: "In the name of the French Government, we declare that Italy shall never take possession of Rome; never will France tolerate such violence done to her honour and to Catholicism. If Italy marches on Rome, she will again find France blocking the way."

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However, the thoughts of all Italians were now fixed on Rome, and even in the December of that same year (1867), Giovanni Lanza, on assuming the office of speaker in the Chamber, announced "that all unanimously desired the accomplishment of the national unity," and that "Rome, through the very nature of things and the exigencies of the times, must, sooner or later, be the capital of Italy." Later on, when the growing animosity between France and Prussia had caused Napoleon III. to desire a more close alliance with Italy and Austria, the government of the former stipulated, as a condition of such an alliance, that Rome should be evacuated by the French troops who had returned there in 1867. Napoleon, still swayed by the clerical party, would not hear of this, so the plan fell through. After the first defeat sustained by the French in 1870, Napoleon asked help from Victor Emmanuel, without fixing any terms whatever. The King would gladly have gone to the assistance of his old ally of 1859, but public opinion in Italy was unfavourable to Napoleon III.; besides, the Italians, although they had fought side by side with the French, in '59, had been allies of the Prussians in '66. Thus it was that, on the night of the 6th–7th of August, the council of ministers voted for neutrality.

On the 24th of August, Prince Napoleon, the King's son-in-law, arrived in Florence to beg for the support of Italy, leaving the latter free to solve the Roman question as she would, but it was now too late.

When, after the disaster of Sédan, the Parisian population rose and proclaimed the Republic, the Italian government felt itself absolved from the observance of the agreement made with the French Emperor in 1864; hence, the question of intervention in the Papal States could now be debated. Victor Emmanuel wrote a letter to Pius IX., in which he implored him, with filial affection, to consider the state of Italy and to renounce the temporal power, but the Pontiff replied that only violence would compel him to do the latter.

On the 19th of September, the Italian troops, under General Raffaele Cadorna, arrived at the gates of Rome; on the 20th, after a short encounter at Porta Pia, they made a breach in the walls. Pius IX., who had merely wished to demonstrate the employment of armed force by the government, then gave orders to his soldiers to withdraw. Thus was effected one of the most important facts in modern history—the abolition of that temporal power which, originally given by Pépin, had lasted for eleven centuries.

On the occasion of the opening of the new parliament in Florence, on the 5th of December, 1870, Victor Emmanuel could, with just pride, exclaim: "With Rome as the capital of Italy, I have fulfilled my promise and crowned the enterprise that, twenty-three years ago, was initiated under the auspices of my magnanimous father. Both as a monarch and as a son, my heart thrills with a solemn joy as I salute all the representatives of our beloved country, gathered here together for the first time, and pronounce the words: 'Italy is free and united, it only depends on us to make her great and happy.'"

The Italian parliament, before transferring its sessions to Rome, passed a law—known as the 'Law of Guarantees'—by which the Pope was ensured the enjoyment of all his prerogatives and honours as a sovereign, was awarded the palaces of the Vatican and the Lateran, as well as the villa of Castel Gandolfo—all exempt from any tax or duty—and was assigned an annual income of three million two hundred and twenty-five thousand Italian *lire*. The Pontiff refused to recognise this law or to accept the allowance, and still persisted in maintaining his unavailing protest against the Italian government.

On the 2nd of July, 1871, Victor Emmanuel entered Rome in state, and took up his abode in the palace of the Quirinal—uttering the famous words: "We are at Rome and here we remain." The Chamber of Deputies monopolised for its sittings the Montecitorio palace, whilst the Senate took possession of the Madama palace—so called from Margaret of Austria, the daughter of Charles V., who formerly lived there.

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Italy, now finally made a nation, could turn all her resources to the development of interior progress. There was indeed much to be done, especially in Southern Italy and in Sicily, where the wretched systems of government had never aimed at promoting the welfare of the population. As an example, it will suffice to mention that, in 1859, the railroads in Piedmont and Liguria extended a distance of seven hundred and forty-four, in Lombardy, one hundred and eighty-four, and in Tuscany, two hundred and eighty-four miles; in the Neapolitan provinces—an area corresponding to all the above-named districts taken together—they only covered one hundred and fourteen miles; whilst in Sicily, whose area is as large as that of Piedmont, none whatever existed. Similar observations would tell with regard to the ordinary roads, postal and telegraphic services, &c.: in Lower Italy, such a thing as trade hardly existed; there were scarcely any industries to speak of and agriculture itself was much neglected, whilst as far as public education was concerned, the prominent fact connected with it was an absolute ignorance of reading. Hence, those provinces had to be raised to the level of others, and every effort had to be made in order to keep up with

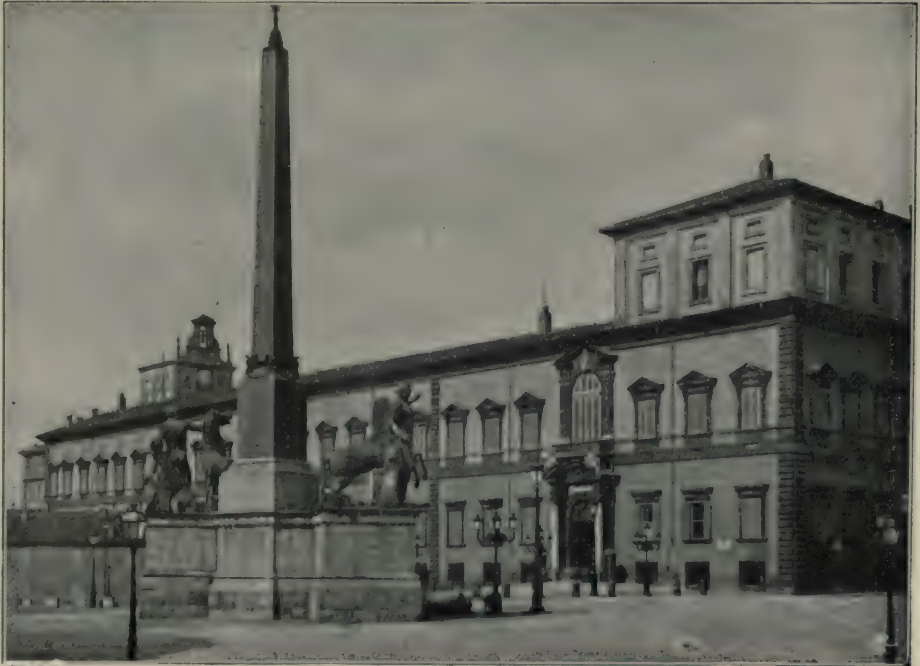

Photo.] [Fratelli Alinari, Florence.

THE QUIRINAL.

the most civilised European nations: in this respect, it is only just to add that much has been already done.

As far back as 1871, five thousand eight hundred and eighty-six miles of railway lines had been laid, whose construction often involved the surmounting of great natural difficulties; in this field, Italians had already highly distinguished themselves, considering that the year 1871 saw the completion of the Mont Cenis tunnel—the longest up till that time made, *i.e.*, eleven miles.[1] Many ordinary roads too were made; commerce received a remarkable impulse; industries began to develop; above all, schools were established. Naturally these internal improvements and the expenses incurred during the late wars had exhausted the finances of the state which had to exact heavy sacrifices from the taxpayers, and here it is but just to recall the name of the minister, Quintino Sella, who challenged unpopularity for the sake of bettering the condition of the national exchequer.

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Meanwhile, the generation which had accomplished the great work of the unification of Italy was gradually disappearing from the scene of its earthly labours. On the 10th of March, 1872, Giuseppe Mazzini, the man who had devoted his whole soul to forwarding the Italian revolution, died at Pisa. The fact that he had disapproved of the monarchical form assumed by the constitution, did not prevent him being justly venerated by all Italians as the first and most ardent champion of the unity and independence of their country. His remains rest in the *Campo Santo* of his native Genoa.

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[1] The St. Gothard tunnel through the Alps was constructed later (1874–1881); it is nine and a quarter miles long.

Among the deaths that occurred during these years must also be recorded that of Urbano Rattazzi who might have been called the head of the parliamentary party known as the 'Left,' otherwise the progressive.

After Cavour's death, the power had nearly always been vested in the hands of the 'Right,' that is to say, with the conservatives, but through always having been the party of the government, it eventually acquired decided unpopularity. The blunders made by its supporters and the excessive short-sightedness of their fiscal policy, provoked keen discontent throughout the country, so that in the very year in which, after long efforts, a balance was finally effected in the exchequer, the opposition was in the majority. On the 18th of March, 1876, the ministry, headed by Minghetti, resigned, and with the latter, the policy of the 'Right' ceased to hold sway.

Victor Emmanuel, as a good constitutional king, entrusted Agostino Depretis—then the leader of the 'Left'—with the formation of a new ministry. This statesman, in a speech made a little before, at the college of Stradella, had traced out the main lines of the new policy to be inaugurated; it comprised the extension of the electoral franchise, the abolition of the grist-tax, reforms in communal and provincial legislation, as well as compulsory and free education, &c. The general election which took place soon after gave the 'Left' an overwhelming majority, but innovations were gradually introduced and all violent upheavals were avoided.

On the 5th of January, 1878, General Alfonso la Marmora died at Florence, and four days later, Victor Emmanuel—that valiant and loyal monarch who had, so to speak, personified the glory of the Italian *Risorgimento*—breathed his last at Rome after a short illness. Never were more imposing funeral obsequies rendered by a people to their ruler than those now celebrated in honour of the deceased king. He was buried at Rome, in the Pantheon—one of the few antique edifices preserved nearly intact until the present day—and over his tomb is the inscription : 'To the Father of the Country.' Victor Emmanuel was succeeded by his eldest son, Humbert I., then thirty-four years of age—married ten years previously to his cousin, Margherita, daughter of Ferdinand, Duke of Genoa—who, on assuming power, declared that his one ambition was to follow worthily in his father's footsteps.

A month afterwards, on the 7th of February, 1878, died Pope Pius IX. who had not only furthered the Italian cause by supporting the national movement at the outset, but, by his subsequent withdrawal from it and obstinate refusal to compromise, had materially paved the way for accomplishing Italian unity which thus involved in its consummation no concessions to the Pontiff other than those affecting the spiritual rights of the Church.

Directly after the death of Pius IX. a conclave was held at Rome—now the capital of Italy—which will be ever memorable in the history of the Church for the absolutely complete liberty with which its functions proceeded ; it was indeed the largest that had ever taken place : sixty-one cardinals were present, three alone being absent on this occasion. In only thirty-six hours, with marvellous unanimity and independently of all difficulties involved by secular considerations, the man deemed most fitted to govern the Church—Cardinal Gioacchino Pecci, then sixty-eight years old, was elected to the papacy. He assumed the title of Leo XIII. and continued, though with much greater intellect and ability, to pursue the policy of his predecessor.

XIX

THE REIGN OF HUMBERT I.

WHILST the twenty-seven millions of Italians who peopled the new kingdom of Italy were focussing all their activities on solving the hard problems that beset their fusion and re-organisation, the inhabitants of Trento and Trieste had to endure the trial of finding themselves still separated from their brethren. After 1866, the Italians who remained under Austrian rule hardly amounted to a million; hence their importance in the population had diminished, and in consequence, the Austrian government seeing them hanker after the kingdom of Italy, began to show its open hostility, by favouring in every possible way the development of the Slav population in Venetia-Giulia and Dalmatia, and by encouraging German influence in the Trentino.

None the less did the Italian irredentists put up a stubborn and courageous resistance in defence of their nationality. Their struggles evoked much sympathy in Italy itself, where an irredentist association was formed to support their brethren in their resistance. The first open manifestations of the irredentist movement took place in 1878, after the Congress of

Berlin, because, up till then, the Italians had cherished the hope that, as Austria was aggrandising herself by occupying Bosnia and Herzegovina, she would have been willing to cede the Trentino.

Whilst France, with the approval of the other Powers, proceeded in 1881 to annex Tunisia, and boldly assert her protectorate over it, Italy, seeing the balance of power thus disturbed in the Mediterranean, deemed it time to come out of her isolation, and doing violence to her most cherished sentiments, threw in her lot with Germany and Austria, and thus resulted the Triple Alliance (1882).

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Italy, in the meantime, had lost her greatest hero: in June, 1882, Giuseppe Garibaldi died at Caprera. "The glorious apparition," said the late Giosuè Carducci, one of the most eminent Italian writers of the day, in a speech made at Bologna, "the glorious apparition revealed to our childhood, the epopee of our youth, the vision of the ideal vouchsafed to our maturer years, has disappeared for ever, and the best part of our life is at an end. That blond, lion-like head, glorious as an archangel's, which, as it flashed along the shores of the Lombard lakes or under the Aurelian walls, recalled the old Roman triumphs, and struck fear and dismay into the heart of the enemy, now lies cold and motionless on a bed of death. That noble right hand which guided the helm of the *Piemonte* through Sicilian waters to fresh Italian victories, and, in its invincible might, struck down the enemy at Calatafimi with the steadfast valour of a paladin, is now lifeless. Eternally closed are those eyes which sighted Palermo from the mountains of Gibibrossa—the eyes of the hero who established victory at Capua and made Italy one. The voice which rang out so clearly at Varese and at Santa Maria with the cry, 'On, on, my sons, on with the butt-ends of your muskets!' and from the conquered rocks of the Trentino, answered, 'I obey,' is for ever dumb. No longer beats that noble heart which neither despaired at Aspromonte nor broke at Mentana, for Giuseppe Garibaldi has yielded to the fate which overtakes us all."

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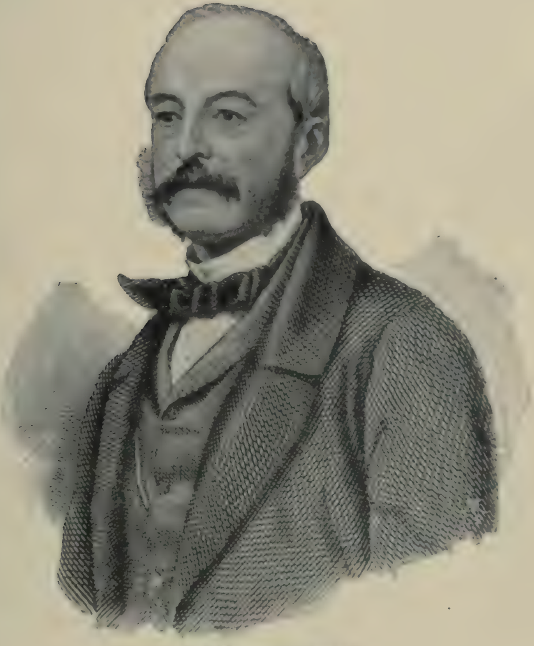
The various ministries of the 'Left' which succeeded one another after 1876, established compulsory elementary education, abolished the grist-tax, and reformed electoral legislation by granting a great extension of the franchise. The establishment of these reforms tended to minimise the differences between the two parties of 'Right' and 'Left,' and Depretis, in order to keep himself in power, favoured the so-called *Trasformismo* party, thus getting a majority of all shades of opinion which, not being committed to a formal programme that would have held it together, initiated a rapid decline in political morals. At the same time, in order to satisfy all the small local interests which had now become the sole guide of parliamentary policy, a perfect mania was developed for expending money on public works, especially on railways. Unfortunately, this 'fad' coincided with the increased outlay on armaments—necessitated by Italy's more active participation in



MARCO MINGHETTI.

European affairs—so that hardly ten years after a balance had been effected in the exchequer, a deficit was manifest, whilst to make matters worse came the additional expense of a colonial war.

Since 1870, the Rubattino Navigation Company had established in the bay of Assab, on the Red Sea, a coaling-station for their steamers, which, ten years later, they ceded to the Italian government. The latter took possession of this roadstead without any primary intention of annexation or self-aggrandisement, but later let itself be carried away by the tendency—now so widespread throughout Europe—to colonial development, and early in 1885, with the idea of pleasing and perhaps of assisting England, then planning the conquest of the Soudan, sent troops to occupy Massowah. Frustrated in their design of aiding the English expedition, by the fall of Khartoum and the Mahdist victory, the Italian contingent now set about establishing friendly relations with John, the *Negus* of Abyssinia, in the hope of attracting the commerce of the interior to the port of Massowah, but failed nevertheless to propitiate that suspicious prince. One of the Abyssinian chiefs, Ras Alula, with an enormous army, now repaired to Dogali where he surprised and surrounded a column of five hundred Italians who, after fighting for eight hours, using all their ammunition and killing a great number of the enemy, were nearly all massacred (January 26, 1887).

Preparations were then made on both sides for war. Having delayed operations till a favourable time of year (January, 1888), the *Negus* arrived with a large army in sight of the fortresses occupied by the Italian troops, but fearing to give battle, retired. Meantime, Menelik, king of Shoa, one of his vassals, had rebelled against the *Negus* who was thus threatened on both sides, and it was while fighting this new enemy that he received the wound from which he soon after died (March, 1889). There were several pretenders to the Abyssinian crown, and for some time the country was a prey to civil war.

The Italian government, headed by Francesco Crispi—who had succeeded Depretis on the latter's death in 1887, thought to profit by this state of affairs, and whilst it extended its possessions in the highlands, by occupying Keren and Asmara, allied itself with Menelik who, to triumph the easier over his rivals, made them the most ample promises. It seemed as if an era of prosperity might now be dawning for the new colony, to which Crispi gave the name of Erythrea. At the same time, an Italian protectorate was established over a vast zone of the Somali peninsula. Swayed by the now generally-felt enthusiasm, Crispi fondly imagined that he had laid the basis of a glorious future for Italy's colonial ambitions.

But that year of 1889 presented a terrible deficit in the country's finances—amounting, in fact, to more than two hundred million *lire*. To rectify it, new taxes, little relished by the country, had to be levied, especially as, owing to the impossibility of renewing the commercial treaty with France who was piqued by the too Germanophile policy of Crispi, one of the principal outlets for the export of Italian products was now closed. Besides, the system of excessive and fruitless expenditure initiated by the state, had unhappily been adopted by the communes and provinces, and brought about a serious economic crisis. In January, 1891, Crispi fell from power, and was first succeeded by the Marquis Di Rudinì and afterwards by Giolitti, who both managed by the pursuit of a more prudent policy, to reduce somewhat the deficit.

Meanwhile, the news from Africa was anything but satisfactory. Menelik had no sooner ensured the submission of all Abyssinia, than he gave out that he had no intention of recognising the Italian protectorate. The dervishes also were a fresh source of annoyance; they had been irritated by the Italian advance and, in the December of 1893, attacked the fort of Agordat, but were defeated, leaving a thousand of their dead and seventy-two standards behind them on the field.

At this juncture, Crispi returned to the head of the government, and after suppressing the Sicilian risings which had broken out from purely economic causes a little while before, urged General Baratieri, governor of Erythrea, to further action in Abyssinia. Baratieri, in consequence, organised an advance against the dervishes, and in the July of '94, succeeded in expelling them from Kassala and in mastering this most important position which effectually secured the safety of the Italian colony on that side. In the meantime, the strained diplomatic relations between Italy and Abyssinia had resolved themselves into an open rupture. In view of the suspicious attitude

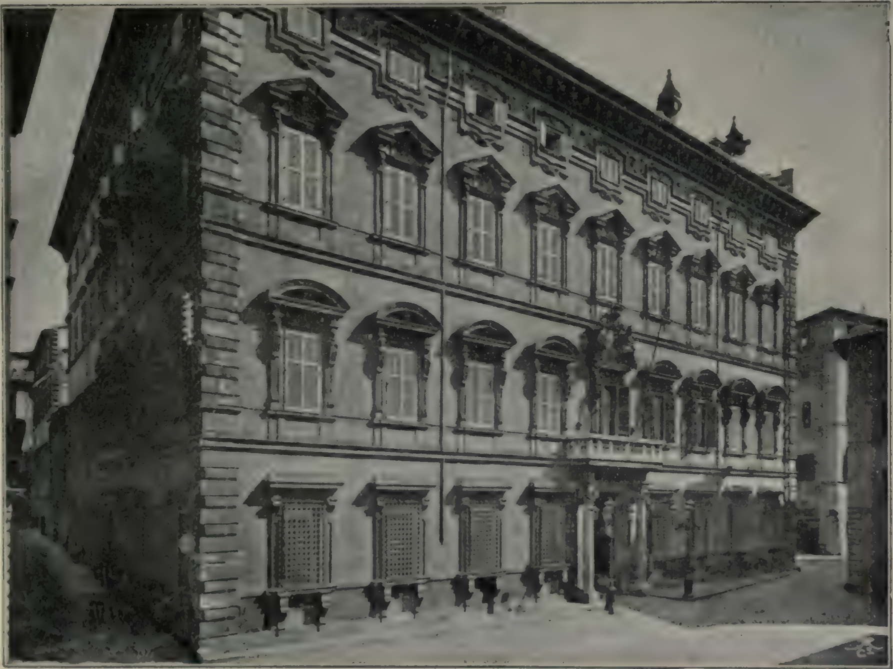


Photo.] [Fratelli Alinari, Florence.

THE MADAMA PALACE, ROME.

The Senate-House.

assumed by Ras Mangascia in the Tigré, Baratieri thought it well to anticipate the Abyssinian leader's movements and succeeded, by forced marches, in surprising and defeating him at Coatit and Senafeh in January, 1895, and hence was enabled without much opposition, to occupy all the Tigré.

However, that this was only the beginning of the war, was hardly realised by the Italians. Ras Mangascia implored the intervention of Menelik who managed to carry all Abyssinia with him in this struggle against Italy. Biding his time till the season was favourable, the *Negus* advanced with an army of more than one hundred thousand men, against whom the governor of Erythrea, insufficiently equipped, could only oppose a few thousand troops. This poverty of Italian resources was, in a great measure, due to the carelessness of the Ministry at home who lacked proper information in the matter, and pursued a bold policy of expansion without saying anything to the country or asking parliament for the necessary means to prosecute it. Baratieri, flattered on all sides for his preceding victories, grew, at last, quite accustomed to a position that was, in reality, bristling with dangers.

On the 7th of December, 1895, Major Toselli, at the head of only two thousand men, was attacked at Amba-Alagi by a numerous host of the enemy, and, after a long and heroic resistance, was, with the greater part of his men, killed.

The Abyssinians now advanced and surrounded the fort of Makaleh whose small garrison, under Major Galliano, maintained a gallant defence for nearly a month, for General Baratieri found it impossible to venture on their relief. The besieged, reduced to extremity through lack of water—the nearest supplies having fallen into the enemy's hands—had heroically decided to blow up the fort and fight their way through the Abyssinian ranks, when Menelik, impressed by their bold resistance or by the memory of the heavy losses he had lately sustained, sent word to Baratieri that he would readily allow the garrison of Makaleh to march out with the honours of war, so they might rejoin the rest of the Italian troops concentrated at Adigrat. It was under such conditions that, on the 26th of January, 1896, Makaleh capitulated.

During this time, reinforcements had arrived from Italy, but the lack of proper commissariat organisation increased the difficulty of providing for the needs of the soldiers among those arid mountains so far from the coast. General Baratieri continued to act on the defensive, contenting himself, however, with preserving a vigilant attitude in face of the Abyssinians who, leaving Adigrat, now took the direction of Adowa. But eventually, impressed by the emphatic representations of the Ministry—which desired to satisfy public opinion by reprisals—and judging that an advance would probably decide the foe either to attack the Italians in their entrenched positions or to retreat, Baratieri, on the 1st of March, 1896, led his fourteen thousand men into action.

The Abyssinians were encamped in the environs of Adowa. Either through their opponents' ignorance of the ground, or through the unmeasured impetuosity of the first column, the wings of the Italian army divided, and the vanguard, instead of assuming a position wherein to wait the assault of the enemy, advanced as far as the latter's camp itself. The Abyssinian troops, far outnumbering their antagonists, easily routed the first Italian column before the second could appear on the scene, and afterwards defeated, in turn, the second and third bodies of troops as they came up.

Nearly a third of the Italian army was killed in this engagement—among the dead were Generals Dabormida and Arimondi as well as Galliano, the gallant defender of Makaleh, who had, just before, been promoted to a lieutenant-colonelcy for distinguished merit—whilst another third, which included General Albertone, was taken prisoner. In spite of his victory, Menelik dared not advance further, and General Baldissera, who had just arrived at Massowah to supplant Baratieri[1] in the supreme command, proved himself apt in re-organising the troops of the colony and in minimising the consequences of the defeat.

The news of the disaster at Adowa provoked keen indignation among the Italian people who, not unreasonably, accused the government of having failed, through want of knowledge, in the management of a difficult undertaking, and this feeling was generally approved by the nation. On the 5th of March, 1896, the Crispi ministry fell, without so much as venturing to challenge a vote of the Chamber.

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[1] Although General Baratieri was tried by court-martial for his part in the affair, he was acquitted.

Its colonial policy had never been popular in Italy, for the country was not rich enough to cope adequately with such undertakings, and the territory to be annexed promised no great resources. The unfortunate issue of the African campaign went to prove that the nation at large had more good sense in this matter than the government which now had been much discredited in public opinion. The new ministry, directed by the Marquis Di Rudinì, openly declared its desire to abandon Crispi's colonial policy, and set on foot negotiations for peace as well as for the release of the Italian prisoners in Abyssinia. After long and wearisome discussions, the captives were liberated, and a peace treaty was concluded, by which Italy renounced her claim to the Tigré and confined herself to the territory bounded on the south by the Mareb-Belesa-Muna line. Later, the fortress of Kassala was ceded by the Italian government to the English, as useful to the latter for their Soudanese expedition.

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For some time past the state of internal affairs in Italy had been such as to warrant much popular discontent. Serious abuses had been discovered in the administration of some of the principal banks —especially in the Roman Bank—and evidence had come to light of the excessive favouritism shown to many politicians. Thence had arisen prosecutions which had served to convince the general public of the corruption that existed in certain political spheres, and although these trials had ended in acquittals, they hardly served to allay the disgust generally felt. Felice Cavallotti, the leader of the extreme 'Left,' had carried on, by means of his speeches in parliament and his published writings on the subject, a regular campaign on this so-called 'moral question,' and had attempted, at the same time, to bring about the downfall of Crispi who was then in power. As we have seen, the Crispi ministry actually fell, owing to the turn taken by African affairs, but all that had been said and written on the bank-scandals had created such an unpleasant impression on the public, that the extreme parties in the state—the republicans and socialists on the one hand and the clericals on the other—found ample opportunity for their propagandist designs. Whilst the liberals — who had been in power for so long and were flattering themselves, perhaps, that they were to stay there for ever—abandoned themselves to the most absolute inertia, the clericals and socialists alike displayed a political activity truly marvellous.

At such a crisis, embittered by the universal discontent provoked by the African campaign and the bank-scandals, came the rise in the price of bread—owing to the Hispano-American war. In some provinces of Southern Italy where, owing to specially aggravating conditions in the past, the hardships of the people are undoubted, the prevailing distress caused riots to break out, as they had done a few years before in Sicily. This time, owing to the political reasons mentioned above, the movement found an echo in Upper Italy, and especially at Milan where the extreme parties were carrying on an

H.R.H. THE PRINCESS OF NAPLES.

active propaganda. The rising was promptly suppressed (May, 1898), but the nation at large was much grieved at seeing this attempt to destroy the great work of Italian unity that, only a few years before, had been achieved by such sacrifices.

The year 1898 witnessed the beginning of a notable economic reaction, the State Budget at last registering a balance between receipts and expenditure. Moreover, commercial relations were resumed with France, thereby assuring not only a better economic understanding and improved facilities for trade, but also a resumption of the old friendly footing between the two countries.

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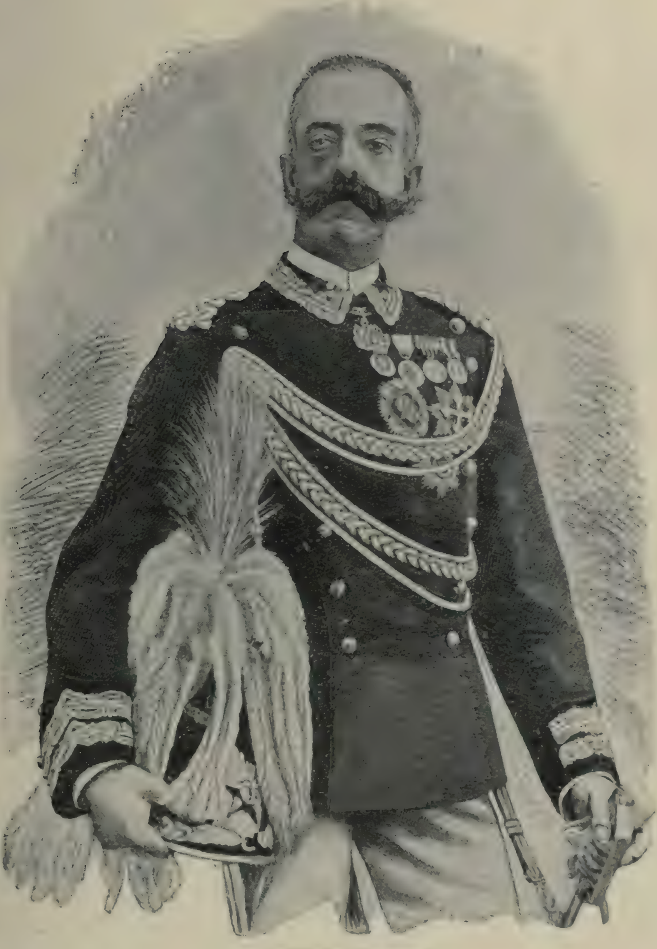
Just as the nation was beginning to realise the beneficent results of an increased prosperity, a terrible crime plunged her once more into mourning. On the evening of the 29th of July, 1900, King Humbert, who was staying at Monza, was fired at by an anarchist, and, falling back in his carriage mortally wounded, expired a few minutes later.

The sad news was received by the Crown Prince, Victor Emmanuel, whilst he was on his return journey from Constantinople, with his consort, Princess Helena of Montenegro; and on his return, he drew up a proclamation to his subjects, which ended with these words: "May God help me, and the love of my people console me, so that I may be able to consecrate all my energies to the protection of our liberties, and the defence of the monarchy, knit together by such indissoluble bonds, for the highest interests of the Italian nation. You who make the



PRINCE AMEDEO.

bitter mourning of my House your own domestic grief, weep for him, and honour the sacred memory of Humbert I. of Savoy, for our community of thought and feeling was, and will ever be, the most solid bulwark of my kingdom, the best guarantee of the national unity that recognises in the august name of Rome, the intangible symbol of its greatness and the pledge of Italian integrity. This is my faith, my ambition as a citizen and as a king."

H.R.H. THE PRINCE OF NAPLES.

XX

THE FIRST YEARS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

THE new King, Victor Emmanuel III., was little over thirty (having been born November 11, 1869), was intelligent and studious, and living an active, but regular, life. His marriage in 1896 had been highly popular with the democratic part of the nation, since, instead of seeking a consort among the great royal houses of Europe, he had chosen a simple princess from that little Montenegrin people, who, however small in number, were none the less famous for their heroic valour.

The preceding generation had ensured their country's independence from the foreigner, and so obtained for it unity and freedom, but these new needs and new aspirations absorbed men's hearts and minds, and a fresh goal, essentially social in its character, beckoned them.

The growth of industrial and commercial enterprise in Italy during the last thirty years of the nineteenth century had been enormous. To gain some notion of the country's economic expansion, it will suffice to recall that imports and exports during the first years after 1870—practically the whole of its commerce—were not much over two milliards of *lire*; in 1906 they reached four milliards, and by 1909 amounted to five. This commercial development resulted in notable modifications of social conditions; a new working class had to be reckoned with, as it aimed at improving its status. Hence a fresh tendency asserted itself, and the home politics of the new reign shaped laws and regulations of a distinctly social character.

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With regard to foreign policy, the pacific and conciliatory trend of the last years of Humbert I.'s reign was still maintained. Italy, although yet faithful to the Triple Alliance, sought to promote those improved relations with France to which an impetus had already been given. In 1902 an agreement had been signed, whereby France pledged herself not to oppose Italian aims in Tripolitania, and Italy promised to leave full liberty of action to France in Morocco.

On the 20th of July, 1903, the aged Pontiff, Leo XIII., passed away at ninety-three. At the ensuing Papal Conclave, the one personality that stood most prominently forward for election was Cardinal Mariano Rampolla, who for sixteen years had been Secretary of State, and at the first ballot he received the majority of votes. But Cardinal Puzyna, Bishop of Cracow, declared that he was commissioned by the Emperor Francis Joseph of Austria to veto the election of Rampolla. It was a dramatic situation: Rampolla, deadly pale, and steadfastly fixing his eyes on the altar to avoid the gaze of the assembly, exclaimed that, although he did not aspire to the high honour of the papacy, he considered it his duty to protest on behalf of the liberty of the Church, against this violent measure levelled against the Sacred College. In the ballot which ensued, Rampolla saw his votes amount to thirty, but this was the biggest effort his supporters made, and the two-thirds of the votes necessary to secure an election were not attained.

As many of the cardinals did not want a political pope, they cast their votes for a candidate who would incarnate the essentially religious type, and concentrated their suffrages on the Patriarch of Venice, Giuseppe Sarto, who was elected Pope under the title of Pius X. The newly elected Pontiff, in pursuance of the policy of his predecessors, remained in seclusion at the Vatican, and announced his election to all the Powers, except Italy. When later, President Loubet came to visit Victor Emmanuel III., Pius X. sent a circular letter to the Powers, protesting against the action of the head of a Catholic nation that had been bound to the Papacy by such close ties through so many centuries. Thus, even with a new Pontiff, the tension between the Vatican and the Quirinal still remained.

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The most prominent politician during these years (from November, 1903, to March, 1914) was Giovanni Giolitti who, except during the two brief intervals of the Sonnino and Luzzatti ministries respectively, from May, 1905, to May, 1906, and from December, 1909, to March, 1911, was president of the Council, and succeeded in acquiring a remarkable ascendency in parliamentary life.

Meantime, the Italian government continued to exert a disinterested policy of conciliation in international affairs, and at the Algeciras Conference showed its independence of Germany by loyally upholding the stipulated agreement with France regarding Morocco. Peace favoured the economic development of Italy, the industrial movement was growing amazingly, and new spheres for production were being opened up, whilst industries showed most gratifying developments. Agriculture too made great strides, and under the patronage of the King, an international Institute of Agriculture was opened in Rome.

The economic advance in Italy was apparent also in the trend of taxation, so that a notable improvement took place in the national budget in consequence. Moreover, although in 1905 the Government had assumed the direct control of the railways, and had expended large sums to improve them, the national finances so well maintained their satisfactory equilibrium that by the 1st of July, 1906, the conversion of the revenue from 4 per cent. to 3·75 per cent. was effected for the first five years, till by 1912 it stood at 3·50 per cent. This transaction, effected with a capital of over eight milliard *lire*, is the biggest and boldest financial feat ever accomplished under like conditions.

In the colonies also of Erythrea and Benadir, progress was in evidence. The territories of Benadir and Somaliland had at first been granted as commercial concessions to a trading company, but in 1905 the agreement relating to them was annulled, and the State assumed the direct administration of the colonies. In that same year, the Italian government acquired all the rights of sovereignty, still pertaining to the sultanate of Zanzibar, over the towns, ports and coast-territories of Benadir.

In December, 1906, Italy, France and England safeguarded their reciprocal interests by an agreement, especially with regard to Abyssinia, which comprised Italy's possessions in Erythrea and Somaliland, with British interests on the Abyssinian bank of the Nile, as well as the railway then being constructed by the French for their colonies of Djibuti to Addis-Abeba, the capital of Abyssinia. But the Italian people never troubled much about these colonial problems, for they remembered only too well the disastrous African campaign of 1896. On the other hand, the least incident bearing on their relations with Austria agitated Italian public opinion.

Meantime, seeing that the political situation in the Mediterranean and the Balkans remained unchanged, Italy was enabled to preserve the *status quo* in her foreign policy, on the lines laid down by her statesman, Tittoni, making for loyalty to the Triple Alliance, a sincere friendship towards England and France, and cordial relations with all the other Powers. But the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina by Austria in October, 1908, tended to modify the European situation, and the propriety of Italy remaining in the Triple Alliance began to be questioned, some of her statesmen going so far as to qualify her presence in it as a necessary evil.

Meanwhile, Italian attention was for the time being rudely diverted from foreign politics and their difficulties by a terrible disaster that was a blow to the entire nation. On the morning of the 28th of December, 1908, an earthquake of appalling intensity completely destroyed Messina and Reggio-Calabria, and the adjacent regions: over a hundred thousand persons being killed in their sleep. The first aid to the victims was rendered by a few soldiers who had survived the general destruction, and by some sailors who had landed from some of the boats in the port. British and Russian vessels that happened to be in the vicinity also came to the rescue, and these were followed by Italian men-of-war, all emulating each other in the work of succour.

The Italian parliament, on meeting in the ensuing January of 1909, solemnly pledged itself to rebuild the ruined cities, and immediately made plans for the work of restoration. Thus, even this catastrophe, which has no parallel in history, did not avail to depress Italian courage.

In 1909, the celebration of the fiftieth anniversary of the war of 1859 provided an opportunity for re-consolidating the good understanding with France, whilst that of the year following, the commemoration of the Garibaldian expedition of 1860, renewed cordial relations with Great Britain. None the less did these memories arouse in Italian minds the old hostility against the ancient enemy.

Both Turin and Rome, the old and the new Italian capitals, desired in 1911 to fête the fiftieth anniversary of the Proclamation of the Kingdom of Italy, and organised two exhibitions, an industrial display at Turin, and an archæological and art exhibition in Rome, in honour of the event, the Turin Exhibition being the most imposing display of the kind ever made up to that time in the peninsula.

On the 4th of June, 1911, the monument to Victor Emanuel II. was inaugurated at Rome, the unveiling taking place in the presence of the eight thousand mayors of the various Italian communes who thus assisted at what was the true apotheosis of United Italy. The function evoked a thrill of patriotic response throughout the country: the monument was the work of Giuseppe Sacconi, who had died at the age of fifty-five in 1905, but at the time of its inauguration was not finished, and it was some time being completed.

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With the improvement in her economic conditions, Italy began to aspire to a higher status in international politics, and to this end welcomed the idea of a colonial enterprise that appeared to meet her interests better than any of her preceding efforts of the kind. After she had been compelled to renounce her rights in Tunisia, Italy had turned her attention to Tripoli, which, although possessing an extensive coast-line on that highway of civilisation, the Mediterranean, had nevertheless remained barred to all progress through the Turkish domination. The Italian government, however, had taken every suitable opportunity of impressing on the Great Powers the importance and precedence of Italian interests in Tripoli, where in the meantime it promoted a species of pacific penetration.

As this policy assumed more definite proportions, the Turkish authorities grew alarmed, and tried to hinder Italian progress by persistent and systematic hostility.

The Moroccan crisis precipitated the situation, for when, in the summer of 1911, the Italians witnessed the French occupation of Morocco, with compensations granted to Germany, this meant that the balance of power in the Mediterranean was again disturbed to the prejudice of Italy, and that she would have to act promptly, if she did not want her future activities checked. The rising generation which was beginning to take an interest in politics, felt the need of decisive action on the part of the government, and the nationalist party was the outcome of this feeling. When on the 29th of September, the Italian government declared war on Turkey, the whole nation was stirred by one common impulse of approval of such policy.

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Having regard to the delicate problems that beset the Balkan peninsula, the Italian government, mindful of the Great Powers, forbore to carry on warlike operations elsewhere than in Tripoli. This step, spontaneously taken, led the Powers to proclaim their neutrality, and limited the fighting area, but it made operations much more difficult and complicated for Italy, and also prevented her from winning over the public opinion of Europe to her side. As a matter of fact, the Allied Powers did not by any means look with sympathy on the enterprise: Germany, being friendly to Turkey, objected to seeing the latter's strength weakened, whilst Austria feared a counter-stroke in the Balkans, and was not anxious for the growth of Italian power and prestige.

However, the campaign opened in the Adriatic, two Turkish torpedo-boats being sunk at Prevesa, in Albania, but this prompt and rapid action sufficed to free Italian waters from the Turkish menace. Nevertheless, after this, Italy, in order to pacify Austria, desisted from further hostilities in the Adriatic. Meantime, the Turkish fleet hastily withdrew into the Dardanelles.

The Italian fleet, after having bombarded the Tripoli forts, on the 5th of October, 1911, landed one thousand seven hundred men, under the command of the captain, Umberto Cagni, who occupied the city, and held it against the Turks for a week, until the arrival of the expeditionary force under General Caneva. Tobruk, Derna, Bengasi, Homs, and other lofty positions on the coast were occupied by the Italian troops.

The regular Turkish forces in Tripoli and Cyrenaica were little more than ten thousand in number, and were scattered over a vast area, but they succeeded in stirring up the religious fanaticism of the population against the Italians, so the war became more difficult. The Italian troops had to take the defensive and await reinforcements, and only after they had received them, at the end of the following November, could they strengthen the positions they had at first occupied, and reassume the offensive. Round Derna, the Turco-Arab resistance had been very ably organised by the Turkish commander, Enver Bey, who did not cease to molest the Italian columns, especially when these were engaged in reconnoitring.

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It was impossible to hope for a speedy peace in Libya, as at each fresh Italian victory the enemy retired for some miles into the interior, and there organised a fresh resistance. The Italian government then determined to occupy some islands in the Ægean, and took possession of Stampalia, and later disembarked troops at Rhodes; the Turkish governor retired to the interior of the island at Psitos, where he was overtaken, surrounded, and constrained to surrender, on the 17th of May, 1912. The remaining ten islands were afterwards occupied, which, with Rhodes and Stampalia, form the Dodecanese.

Throughout the war, the Turkish fleet had remained bottled up in the Dardanelles, which were sown with mines, whilst the fortresses on either shore bristled with heavy guns. On the night of 18th July, five Italian torpedo-boats, under the command of Captain Enrico Millo, entered the straits with the intention of attacking the Turkish fleet in spite of the terrible bombardment that greeted them, and managed to get within sight of the Turkish base at Nagara. But finding it impossible to carry out their plan for attack, they returned by the way they had come, having a miraculous escape from the heavy fire of the enemy as they regained their squadron.

But for some time secret *pourparlers* for peace had been in progress, thus preparing the way for the Treaty of Lausanne (18th of October, 1912), whereby the Turks renounced all claim to Tripolitania and Cyrenaica, which henceforth became Italian colonies under their ancient name of Libya. This peace treaty stipulated for the withdrawal of the Italian troops from the Ægean Islands on the cession of all Turkish rights in Tripoli and Cyrenaica, but as the Turkish evacuation was not completely carried into effect, Italy continued to occupy the islands as a guarantee, till the world war saw her again in active hostility to Turkey. Meantime, Italy was anxious to carry civilisation into her conquered territories, where she developed postal services and customs, made roads and railways, and ensured water-supplies in a fashion that recalled the work of the ancient Romans.

Whilst the war had been in progress, the Italian parliament had endorsed an electoral reform that comprised almost universal suffrage, and the electorate rose from three to eight million in a population which in 1911 comprised thirty-five millions. The elections of October, 1913, under the new régime, resulted in a strengthening of both the Catholic and socialist parties. In the March of 1914, Giolitti resigned, and the new Ministry was headed by Professor Antonio Salandra.

XXI

ITALY'S PART IN THE WORLD WAR

THE Triple Alliance which lasted thirty-three years, assured to Europe a prolonged spell of peace, but it is worthy of note that its pacific trend was largely due to Italy who had continually endeavoured to modify the disputes between the Allied Powers. Unfortunately, the tendency of the Allies' policy was anything but pacific. Germany, by her world-wide trade and industrial developments, as well as by her progress in railroads and canals, and the growth of her mercantile marine, had attained to the second place among the Powers, after Great Britain ; but far from being satisfied with this, aimed at being in the first rank. Convinced too by her long military traditions, that the only way to impose her predominance on the world was by force, Germany not only increased her large army, but aimed at constructing a formidable navy, and waited for her opportunity.

Meanwhile, Austria was desirous of realising her ambitious plans in the Balkan peninsula, and, seeing the growth of Serbia, contingent on the Balkan crisis of 1912–1913, sought to checkmate

Serbian aims by re-kindling the flames of war, and to this end made the needful military preparations. But her financial conditions made it necessary to precipitate matters.

A favourable chance for moving seemed to hand in the spring of 1914, when the three Powers bound by the Triple Entente (Great Britain, France and Russia) were all disorganised by serious internal troubles. Italy herself was convulsed by a general strike in 1914, which became threatening in the Romagna and Marches districts, but Italian affairs never greatly disturbed the other two Powers of the Triple Alliance, which, doubtful of Italy's assent to the aggressions they were plotting, intended to be satisfied with her hostile attitude towards France.

The assassination of the Austrian Crown Prince, the Archduke Franz Ferdinand, and his consort, at Serajevo, on the 28th of June, 1914, by Serbian irredentists, appeared an excellent pretext to the Austrian government for imposing terms so humiliating to Serbia that it was impossible for her to accept them: hence the declaration of war by Austria on Serbia on the 28th of July, 1914, which kindled the European conflagration.

In vain did Pope Pius X. attempt to stem it by a plea for peace; heart-broken at the vision of the terrible war thus promoted by the most civilised states of the world, he fell stricken by a mortal malady, and died a few days later (14th of August, 1914). In the Conclave that ensued, Cardinal Giacomo della Chiesa, who had been private secretary to Cardinal Rampolla (dead a little before Pius X.), was elected Pope, under the title of Benedict XV.

The Central Empires pursued their aggressive policy without consulting their ally, but reckoned on Italy casting in her lot with them, once the war had broken out. However, the line of action taken by the Central Empires to provoke the war revealed the radical divergence of feeling between them and Italy, who, averse to the war, proclaimed her neutrality, at the same time sedulously cultivating a good understanding with France which made for excellent frontier relations.

But the Central Powers had not allowed for two factors in the situation—the aloofness of Italy and the heroic sacrifice of Belgium ; none the less these saved France, who could now concentrate all her forces on the Marne to stem the German advance, and volunteers from Italy for the French ranks were organised under Peppino Garibaldi, whose two brothers fell in the Argonne.

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Whilst Italy thus watched the course of the most terrible tragedy in the world's history, public opinion was being much exercised. Some, with Giolitti, considered that Italian neutrality ought to have been repaid by Austrian concessions in the Trentino, but to many, such a bargain seemed sordid as regarded the present, and fraught with peril for the future. Moreover, the idealism that had swayed the political life of Italy during the Risorgimento epoch, reasserted itself, and national aspirations after "unredeemed Italy," stifled for so long, began to revive as problems to be solved now or never. Thus it was that there arose numerous contingents of eager young combatants, who were ready to take every risk to cross the frontier, ready and willing to fight to redeem Italy's lost territory.

Italy was now pressed to declare her policy. Salandra, the premier (who had Baron Sonnino as Minister for Foreign Affairs), convinced that negotiations with Austria would be fruitless, now determined on active intervention. On the 26th of April, 1915, he accepted the offer of France, Great Britain and Russia, embodied in the so-called "Treaty of London," which promised Italy the Trentino as far as the Brenner, Venezia-Giulia, a part of Dalmatia with Zara, Sebenico and the islands.

Meantime, the Italian government had warned Austria that it considered itself dispensed from the previously existing alliance, but the partisans of neutrality were still endeavouring to arrest the war-fever, and brought about the resignation of Salandra. None the less did demonstrations of the "interventisti"—the party against neutrality—take place all over Italy, and the King, gauging the will of the nation, revoked the resignation of his premier. Although the neutral tactics had only deferred the declaration of war for twenty days, this delay prevented the enemy being taken by surprise.

During the session of the Italian Chamber of the 20th of May, the premier, Salandra, set forth clearly the war-policy to be followed. The ultimatum, he maintained, that in July, 1914, the

Austro-Hungarian empire had presented to Serbia, had annulled at one blow the treaty that bound Italy to Austria, because it ignored not only the preventive agreement with Italy but substantially violated it by aiming at disturbing in a fashion highly prejudicial to Italian interests, the delicate balance of territorial possessions and spheres of influence that had been evolved in the Balkan peninsula.

To the demand for extraordinary powers—necessary for the declaration of war—which the government addressed to the Chamber, the latter replied by granting the request by an enormous majority.

It was the 23rd of May, 1915, when the Italian ambassador at Vienna presented to the Austrian government the declaration to take effect at the ensuing midnight, that Italy regarded herself in a state of war with Austria. The King, in his proclamation to the troops, warned the soldiers that to them would belong the glory of planting the Italian flag on those sacred frontiers that nature herself had marked as the boundaries to the country.

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Thus Italy entered into the war with two definitely clear objects—to help save Europe from German domination, and to fulfil the work of the *risorgimento*, by freeing from the Austrian yoke those territories of her ancient borders, which natural features, life and language combined to make Italian.

At the outbreak of hostilities, Italian munitions of war were both insufficient and inadequate, and the enemy, better armed and more expert in the new methods of war, commanded the strong positions of the alpine frontiers, delimited in 1866. But it was not long ere the Italian troops had boldly left behind them the old frontier-line, and occupied several regions of the Trentino and Friuli. Only a few days after the declaration of war, the Italian flag was flying alike over Ala in the Adige valley, and Grado and Aquileja in Friuli, whilst in all the liberated territories, enthusiastic receptions greeted King Victor Emmanuel III., who remained, from the beginning to the end of the war, with his soldiers in the field.

The Commander-in-chief, General Luigi Cadorna, led the bulk of the Italian forces towards the Isonzo, but encountered a stiff resistance by the time he reached the river itself. He crossed it higher up, and occupied Monfalcone, but every effort to force the position of the Carso above Monfalcone, like those of the Podgora and the Sabotino, near Gorizia, made at the cost of the most heroic sacrifices, resulted in scant success. Hence 'trench-warfare' was initiated on the Italian front,[1] which extended for about 800 kilometres, and was solidly reinforced, even in mountain regions till then held considered to be inaccessible.

From the opening of the war, Venice had seen the enemy aeroplanes attempting their work of destruction, whilst Austrian warships had hurled bombs at Ancona, Trani and Barletta, ere they withdrew to their easily reached harbours in Istria and Dalmatia, for in the Adriatic all the best positions were commanded by the enemy, and the Italian coast had only two military ports, Venice and Brindisi.

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[1] In August, 1915, a contingent of the British Red Cross, under the superintendence of Mr. J. M. Trevelyan, arrived in Italy, and rendered aid for the duration of hostilities, Mr. Trevelyan recording his impressions in an interesting volume entitled *Scenes from Italy's War*.

The Austrian men-of-war were anchored at Pola and Cattaro, leaving the actual fighting to the submarines. The foundering of two of their cruisers induced the Italians to adopt like methods of naval warfare, and the struggle was thus centred in continuous submarine attacks, whilst for the protection of the defenceless coast-towns armoured trains were used.

The Italian navy had also to tackle another onerous task. The Austro-German army had succeeded in putting both Serbia and Montenegro *hors de combat*, and with difficulty had the Serbian army, with the aged King Peter at its head, retreated through the mountains of Albania, to find shelter on the shores of the Adriatic. In the December of 1915, the Italian fleet, with the support of both British and French vessels, welcomed, at Durazzo and San Giovanni di Medua, the decimated Serbian army and managed successfully to transport the Serbs safely to Corfu.

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Austria now planned a decisive move against Italy, and big preparations went forward in the Trentino, in the spring of 1916, under the command of the Crown Prince, the Archduke Karl, who desired to force the Rovereto route by Val-Arsa on the plateau that dominates Vicenza, thus threatening the advanced wings of the Italian army in Friuli, and effect its retreat, and, if possible, its surrender. After a terrible bombardment with heavy guns, the Austrians, on the 15th of May, fiercely attacked the few Italian troops who were defending the Trentino positions, and after overcoming the small garrison, occupied Val-Arsa, and made for the plateau. Fortunately, however, the troops on either side of the enemy put up a stiff resistance, thanks to the enthusiastic valour of the defenders. Harassed thus on their wings, the Austrians dared not venture farther, for General Cadorna was transporting the greater part of his Isonzo army to the Trentino, and sharply repulsed the enemy, who once more retreated to Val-Arsa.

It was in one of the fights in this campaign that Cesare Battisti was taken prisoner by the Austrians. He was one of the most notable figures in the last war. A Trentino deputy in the Vienna parliament, he had understood how to reconcile socialist sentiments with nationalist ideals, and had always hotly defended the Italian leanings of his constituency. On the outbreak of the war, Battisti had quitted the frontier to invoke the intervention of Italy on behalf of his beloved Trentino, and his speeches, vibrating with patriotic fervour, had aroused enthusiasm in all the Italian towns. On the declaration of war in Rome, he had uttered his war-cry from the Campidoglio, "To the frontier, all of you, with heart and sword," ere he enrolled himself as a volunteer among the Alpini, and distinguished himself by many valiant feats of arms.

But on the 10th of July, 1916, Battisti was made a prisoner in the sharp fighting at Monte Corno, together with another irredentist, Fabio Filzi, of Rovereto. Taken to Trent, they were both court-martialled, and on the 12th of July, in the castle courtyard, sealed their patriotism with their blood. In the May preceding, another Italian prisoner-of-war, Damiano Chiesa, had been executed in the same courtyard (known as the 'grave') for the same cause. The photograph taken of Cesare Battisti on his way to the place of execution, circulated by the Austrians with the object of intimidating the population of the irredentist region, showed him erect and calm, assured of the ultimate triumph of the cause for which he died.

A few days later the Austrian authorities acquired fresh notoriety by inflicting the supreme penalty on another gallant hero, Nazario Sauro di Capo d'Istria, who on the outbreak of hostilities had come from Istria to do his share in the war of liberation. The captain of a merchant vessel, he was thoroughly well acquainted with the Adriatic coast, and after joining the naval forces, played an important part in many of the bold enterprises of the Italian fleet, especially at Trieste and Parenzo. Unfortunately, his submarine ran aground one night on a rock in the Gulf of Quarnero, and he was made prisoner. In spite of the depositions of a witness who maintained that he was not Sauro, the Austrian authorities did not hesitate to call his own mother to prove his identity, by acknowledging him, but although she denied that she recognised him, her tears betrayed her, and told only too clearly the truth ; so Nazario Sauro was hanged at Pola, crying with his last breath, '*Viva l'Italia!*' Thus did Austria perpetuate her grim traditions, and the aged Emperor, Francis Joseph revive in his latter days, the spectacle of those political executions which had darkened the beginning of his reign.

The Italians were meantime perfecting themselves in the art of war ; they began to make their trenches more substantial, their 'dug-outs' more secure, improved their munitions, and increased the number of their aeroplanes. In this way, after repulsing the enemy's efforts in the Trentino, they found themselves in a position to take the offensive once more on the Isonzo, and this time effectively.

In the August of 1916 came the capture of Gorizia, whilst the third army corps, under the Duke of Aosta, made a feint move from Monfalcone along the coast. General Luigi Capello directed operations against the positions that defended the city, and finally, vanquishing the enemy's obstinate resistance, the Italian troops entered Gorizia. The enemy retreated to the neighbouring heights of San Marco and San Gabriele, and from there still poured a fire into the city from their guns, the fighting round Gorizia actually lasting for twelve months.

On the Carso, the Italian army advanced at the cost of great sacrifice of life, and took several positions, whilst in the mountains of the Trentino, Cadore and Carnia, fighting was carried on at heights so lofty that it seemed impossible that the guns could have been dragged up so far, whilst the avalanches were an additional peril.

Desirous of consolidating the country's spirit of resistance, the government judged this an opportune crisis for focussing all the representatives of the nationalist political aspirations. Salandra's ministry therefore was succeeded by a new one, with the aged Paolo Boselli as premier. It was this government also which, to prove its sympathy with the Allies, declared war against Germany, despite the existing situation. Besides carrying on unaided her own campaign, Italy sent her troops into Albania and Macedonia, to fight in the common cause.

The naval operations were almost exclusively developed on submarine lines, and Italy had to deplore the loss of two of her men-of-war, blown up by traitors in the harbours of Taranto and Brindisi. The barbarous methods of warfare in use became still more detestable when cities like Venice were bombarded by aeroplanes.

The old Emperor of Austria, Francis Joseph, died, and was succeeded by his nephew, Karl, but the war seemed interminable, and in the spring of 1917, Russia, convulsed by the throes of civil strife, withdrew from the struggle. However, the United States, exasperated against Germany by her submarine warfare, now determined on active intervention, although it was easy to foresee that America could only act after some delay.

On all sides, men were growing weary and dispirited, for all the fighting did not alter the equal balance of forces. A peace was hinted at without victors or vanquished, phrases that only enfeebled the spirit of resistance. Now was the chance for the anti-war party to prosecute their propaganda, and they took full advantage of it.

Nevertheless, the Italian offensive in the Isonzo was continued by the second army corps, and in August, 1917, they captured the plateau of Bainsizza, whilst the third army advanced towards the Hermada, the bulwark of Trieste. But even in this campaign some of the soldiers had fought unwillingly, although no one could have imagined that a catastrophe was imminent. With the prolongation of hostilities, patriotic propaganda had been neglected among the troops, who, left to themselves by their officers, easily fell under the influence of the malcontents who had permeated the army with their ideas. Moreover, the bad food (which threatened famine conditions through its scarcity), the long spells in the trenches to which many were subjected, and other demoralising influences, all tended to weaken the fighting spirit.

Profiting by this state of affairs, the Central Powers, always well informed as to their opponent's situation, planned action on a big scale in Italy, for they could now control the forces hitherto employed against Russia, and concentrate an Austro-German army on the Isonzo. The offensive was initiated on the 24th of October, 1917, in the Tolmino basin. The Italian line extended as far as Caporetto, where some sections of the second army corps allowed the enemy to pass without disputing their passage, and surrendered, believing this to be a step towards peace, an action which greatly disturbed the commanders, whilst the enemy meantime was advancing in great force towards Cividale. As no second line of resistance had been organised, fighting was carried on in a half-hearted fashion that naturally failed to arrest the invader's progress. The second army corps was soon utterly demoralised, and on the 29th of October the vanguard of the Austro-German army entered the city of Udine.

In the face of such a big disaster, General Cadorna sought to save the army that was retreating hastily beyond the Tagliamento. To this end, therefore, the third army corps stationed at Gorizia received the order to abandon the ground won at the cost of so much bloodshed, whilst the troops had to retreat from the positions so long and valiantly defended, and hasten towards the Tagliamento.

The roads were choked with disbanded soldiers and crowds of civilians, fleeing before the foreign invader, and amid those wretched fugitives came the retreating army with what war material they could manage to save. The confusion in crossing the river was indescribable, for the bridges of the Tagliamento collapsed before all the Italian troops had passed over. But the Tagliamento line could not be held, and the troops withdrew to the Piave. But this stage of the retreat was minimised by the heroic resistance of the men who covered it, especially of some cavalry regiments who sacrificed themselves in order to hinder the enemy's advance.

On the Piave, the defence fell on the third army corps which had held together during the retreat, but for days the troops feared lest they should be compelled to retire to the Po, and thus abandon Venezia, when the enemy advanced to the right bank of the Piave.

But these were the last victories of the Austro-German army in Italy; by this time the marines with their floating batteries were effectively helping the Italian troops, and, although the enemy carried on a stubborn offensive, the Italians hotly defended their ground, and Monte Grappa, the military key of the situation, became the symbol of Italian resistance.

Naturally these disasters reacted on public opinion, so a change was effected in the ministry and the supreme command, Vittorio Emanuele Orlando, becoming president of the council, whilst General Cadorna was supplanted by General Diaz.

Besides, British and French reinforcements had already arrived in Italy, and by their active support proved how solid was the allied feeling against a common enemy. But the gravity of the peril menacing them, even before this timely aid, had revived the Italian nationalist spirit, especially among the younger troops so heroically loyal to the grand ideal of patriotism. Behind the fighting-line, too, a mighty renewal of vigour and hope was felt. Hence efforts were made by the country to reorganise the disheartened army, strengthen its *morale*, and fortify it by better munitions—so greatly depleted by the invaders — as well as to increase its fighting-power. Foodstuffs also had to be rationed, owing to the enormous destruction of stores. However, aircraft bombardments, still frequent in such cities as Venice, Treviso and Padua, somewhat neutralised the determination to resist at all costs.

As a set-off to this, the Italian navy, under the command of Admiral Thaon di Revel, continued to maintain a bold offensive, and a great number of very small vessels, called M.A.S. (*mas*), were furnished with torpedoes. Two of these vessels penetrated into the port of Trieste, destroyed the Austrian gunboat *Wien*, and some months later, another *mas* entered the Gulf of Quarnero and attacked the vessels anchored in the Bay of Buccari. Among those who took part in this expedition was the poet, Gabriele D'Annunzio, who, although in his fiftieth year, had from the outset of the war inspired his compatriots with his own fervid enthusiasm, more especially the aviators, whose enterprises he often shared.

One of the boldest feats of the campaign was that performed by Captain Rizzo, who, off the island of Premuda, sunk the great gunboat *Santo Stefano* with a torpedo. That daring feat, on the 10th of June, 1918, signalised the beginning of the Austrian discomfiture.

But the Central Powers yet hoped for ultimate victory, and determined on a colossal *coup* that should secure the ending of the war before America actively intervened ; accordingly they made their preparations on a big scale. Whilst the Germans attempted a terrific thrust in France—where Italy had also sent an army corps—the whole Austrian army attacked the Italian line, obviously intending a descent on Bassano, by way of the Asiago plateau and the Grappa, to reach the wing of the Piave defence. So certain were they of success, that the Austrian officers and men talked openly of the rich booty to be theirs in the Italian cities.

The offensive commenced on the 15th of June, but the Italians were amply prepared, and stopped all attempts to break the line, and both British and French soldiers took part in the fighting on the Asiago plateau. The defenders of the Piave were thus able to resist the frontal attack with great force ; at two points only did the Austrians succeed in crossing the river, thus threatening Treviso and Venice. The repulse was a costly one, but finally, on the 24th of June, the Italians had the joy of seeing the enemy retreat in disorder across the Piave. This vain effort cost the Austro-Hungarian army more than two hundred thousand men, dislocated the whole area of the war, and sealed the beginning of the end, for the Central Empire populations, who had reckoned on certain victory, were now growing restive.

In France the tide was turning against Germany, repulsed by the combined British and French offensive, whilst the American forces had now landed in Europe. Bulgaria was suing for a separate peace—an example followed by Turkey.

The Italians meantime longed to drive the Austrians over the border, but the army still remained on the defensive. Hence it was needful to continue military preparations, and on the 24th of October, the Italian offensive was initiated on the Grappa, covering the whole line of the Piave, with fifty-one Italian divisions taking part in it, three British, under Lord Cavan, two French, one Czecho-Slovakian, and one American regiment supporting them. The Austrian army still displayed extraordinary powers of resistance, and the passage of the Piave was anything but easy for the first body of Italian troops who crossed it. Finally, however, by the 29th of October, three hundred thousand Italians were on the other side of the river, disposing of the enemy's defences.

With the breaking of the Austrian front, it was possible to carry out the manœuvre of cutting the enemy's communications between the Venetian plain and the Trentino valleys, and with the occupation of Vittorio Veneto, on the 30th of October, the Austrian forces were finally discomfited.

Meanwhile the navy had not been idle ; on the night of the 31st of October–1st of November, a couple of Italian vessels sunk two enemy gunboats in the strongly fortified port of Pola. The Austrians had sued for peace, showing their readiness to make it at all costs, but whilst the *pourparlers* were being discussed, the Italian advance continued. By the 3rd of November, the tricolour was waving over the castle of Trento, and Italian *bersaglieri* were disembarking at Trieste. That same day, was signed at the Villa Giusti, at Padua, the treaty which fixed the cessation of hostilities for the day following.

On the 4th of November, General Diaz, the Italian Commander-in-chief, issued his final despatch: declaring that "the war waged against Austro-Hungary for forty-one months was won." Naturally the Austrian defeat reacted on the *morale* of Germany, who, now left alone, and hard pressed on all sides, had to beg for mercy, and submit to the conditions imposed by the victorious Powers.

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Thus ended the world war, one of its most important results being the dissolution of the Austro-Hungarian empire, for Austria was now reduced to a petty state, with little more than six million Germans, and Hungary to another small province, containing only eight million inhabitants, and these two states were regarded as the actual responsible heirs of the ancient empire, subscribing to the peace terms as such, Austria at St. Germain (near Paris) on the 10th of September, 1919, and Hungary at Trianon (Versailles) on the 4th of June, 1920.

But these treaties did not fix Italy's new frontiers, for a portion of the former Austro-Hungarian territory bordering on Italy was to constitute, together with Serbia, the new Jugo-Slav state. It was difficult to define frontiers that would equally satisfy Italy and Jugo-Slavia, and the Adriatic question raised problems difficult of solution as regarded Dalmatia and Fiume. The last-named city, which at first had belonged to Hungary, but now contained a population mostly Italian, had, on the break-up of the Austrian empire, proclaimed its annexation to Italy. However, Fiume had not been comprised in the territories promised to Italy by the Treaty of London (1915), and the Jugo-Slavs, who found an ardent supporter in President Wilson, were stoutly opposed to its cession. Wilson, in fact, who had not had a voice in the Treaty of London, raised objections to the Dalmatian cessions made to Italy, and hence helped to create a delicate diplomatic situation, which had precipitated the fall of the Orlando Ministry in June, 1919.

Meantime, the poet, Gabriele D'Annunzio, with a following of soldiers recruited from the regular army, made himself master of Fiume in the September of 1919, and this city, at his instigation, repeatedly asserted its intention of being united to Italy. But the Italian government was carrying on *pourparlers* with Jugo-Slavia. On the 12th of November, 1920, was signed the Treaty of Rapallo, whereby Fiume was recognised as an independent province, Italy contenting herself with Zara and the island of Lagosta in Dalmatia, and renouncing her claim to some of the territories comprised in the Treaty of London, but obtaining some islands in the Gulf of Quarnero, regarded as strategic points of Istria.

Such a solution of the Adriatic problem did not, however, satisfy Italian public opinion. In the Alps, on the contrary, Italy had gained her own natural frontiers, having reclaimed the region of the Trentino as far as the Brenner, and Venezia-Giulia as far as Monte Nevoso, and for the first time since the ancient Roman period, was consolidated into one free and independent state, and had become a great Power, not so much through her newly acquired territories, as by the destruction of the Hapsburg empire, her ancient enemy. It is one of the most significant events in history, that an empire that had existed for centuries, vast in extent, and fortified by mighty traditions, and formidable by its military strength and security, which had maintained up till now a successful resistance to all adverse powers, should have completely disappeared from the world. This fact alone, the annihilation of the Hapsburg empire, ensured to Italy a place among the Powers that is for her the beginning of a new epoch in her history.

XXII

ITALY IN 1922

Many believed that when the world war ended, all evils would end with it, and that the normal routine of life and work could be immediately resumed. But this illusion was rapidly dispelled, for the reconstruction of peace conditions is a far more complicated task than fighting.

After the terrible tragedy of war, the aspirations of the nations tended anew towards that moral world-unity, of which Mazzini had dreamed, and for which President Wilson had made himself the spokesman—a unity that was to evolve not by the disappearance of nationalities, but by their closer union. Already at Genoa, the birthplace of Mazzini, had diplomatists gathered in conference to discuss the immense and onerous task of international reconciliation (10th of April to 19th of May, 1922).

The people of Italy, meanwhile, were inviting all the nations, victors and vanquished alike, to their International Art Exhibition at Venice and to the celebration of the seventh centenary of the University of Padua. These gatherings were the first peaceful reunions of international life after the war.

Moreover, the long estrangement between the Vatican and the Quirinal seemed at last likely to be less acute. On the 22nd of January, 1922, Pope Benedict XV., who had preserved the attitude adopted by his predecessors with regard to the kingdom of Italy, died. But hardly was his successor, Cardinal Achille Ratti, elected as Pius XI., on the 6th of February following, than he blessed the crowd that filled the Piazza of St. Peter's from the external *loggia* of the Basilica, thus breaking with a tradition maintained through half a century.

Meantime, like his predecessors, the Pope was still secluded in the vast palace of the Vatican; but when on the 28th of March, 1922, those Catholic sovereigns, the King and Queen of the Belgians, came to Rome on a visit to the King of Italy, it evoked no protest, as in the time of Pius X., from the Pope, the authorities having on this occasion established the ceremonial to be used by Catholic Sovereigns in their visit to the Quirinal and Vatican. Thus in the Vatican itself there is an atmosphere of conciliation evident towards new Italy, and the possibility of the co-existence in Rome of the Head of the Catholic Church and the King of Italy, is beginning to be recognised.

After the war, Italy, like the rest of the world, had its spell of weariness, restlessness and agitation, and for a time it seemed as if the very prestige of the government was imperilled. But meanwhile, the young men of the nation, enthusiastic for patriotic ideals, had banded themselves together under military discipline in the great national party known as the *Fascisti*, and successfully asserted their predominance over all other parties in the State.

It was for this reason that the King accurately gauging the sentiments of the nation at large, entrusted the headship of the government to the leader of the Fascisti movement, Benito Mussolini. The new premier who pre-eminently represents the will, the convictions and the faith of *Fascismo*, desired to have as coadjutors, General Diaz and Admiral Thaon di Revel, fitly symbolising Italian victories by land and sea, as if to emphasise that the new Italy desired to be worthy of her glorious past.

Under the strenuous guidance of Mussolini, Italy recalled to the great spiritual ideals of her national life, has begun to climb again that steep ascent that stands for readiness for sacrifice in the interest of the country's finances, and is proving herself the while in the field of international politics, her willingness to reassume that conciliating rôle among the nations, that harmonises so fitly with her history and the temperament of her people.

The Italian financial situation is rapidly bettering: in the last pre-war budget, imports and expenditure were balanced in the total of three milliards of *lire* (imports, 3089; expenditure, 3058) the figures were reversed during the war. To-day future normal budgets will be based on the fifteen milliard *lire* calculation.

Naturally in this figure are not contained the enormous sums spent in repairing the devastated districts of the Veneto, ruined during the war, the cost of war pensions, or the interest on debts to foreign governments, which all told would amount to a total of four milliards per annum.

Despite the financial difficulties of recent years, many public works of great importance have been carried through, among which should be mentioned the great artificial lake of Tirso in Sardinia, with its enormous potentialities of electric power, and the new industrial port of Venice.

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Among other results of the war was a notable growth in the fusion of the various Italian states into one great nation, resulting in a far-reaching exchange of ideas, sentiments and customs, and an increase of intercourse among the different provinces. Thus was consolidated the new Italian nation, wherein the traditions and the idiosyncrasies of the various states are now blent in one harmonious whole.

On the 1st of December, 1921, was taken the sixth census of the kingdom of Italy, ten years after the fifth, and notwithstanding the 500,000 soldiers fallen in the war, and a nearly equal number of people who were victims of the influenza in 1918–19, the last ten years showed an increase in the population of 5·50 per cent. The actual resident population within the old frontiers numbered 38,513,470, a figure which, if we add those of the new provinces, now rises to 40,078,161. Since to-day the total area of the kingdom is about 310 square kilometres, the population may be reckoned as 130 inhabitants to a square kilometre. Some cities show an extraordinary increase, such as Rome, which to-day reckons 635,000 inhabitants. The two most populous cities in Italy are Naples, with its 768,000 inhabitants, and Milan, with its 700,000. After Rome comes Turin, 508,000; Palermo, 400,000; Genoa, 300,000; Catania, 252,000; Florence, 247,000; Trieste, 235,000; Bologna, 204,000; Messina, 173,000; Venice, 170,000.

The war likewise dislocated emigration, which in previous years had assumed large proportions. Italy, in fact, had sent out about 600,000 emigrants annually, nearly half of whom settled in European countries, or on the shores of the Mediterranean, whilst most of the rest went to America.[1] To-day the number is far less, thanks to the country not having yet settled down to its normal conditions. Meantime, the "Commissariato" of emigration deemed it opportune to take a census of Italians abroad, and through its representatives this was effected by the 31st of December, 1920, the result showing a foreign Italian population of 7,500,000.

To maintain among these exiles the preservation of the Italian language and culture, and the sense of nationality, the 'Dante Alighieri Society' was formed in 1889, for the founding of schools, the diffusion of literature, and the developing of conferences and other agencies for fulfilling its aim.

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Before concluding this account of present-day conditions in the kingdom of Italy, a word must be said about its colonial possessions. The oldest is Erythrea, which, in the census of 1919, had a population of 380,000, scattered over 110,000 square kilometres. Its capital, Asmara (15,000 inhabitants), is connected by a railway with the port of Massowah on one side, and with Keren on the other.

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[1] In the years 1908, 1910 and 1913, special legislation was introduced for the protection of emigrants.

Italian Somaliland has an area equal to that of the kingdom of Italy itself, that is to say, about 350,000 square kilometres, but contains only 300,000 inhabitants. The southern portion, Benadir (to which will be added the territory promised by Great Britain, on the right bank of the Juba), is directly under the sovereignty of the kingdom of Italy, and ruled by a government which has its seat at *Mogadiscio*, a city of about 12,000 inhabitants. The King's cousin, the Duke of the Abruzzi, has initiated a fine work of colonisation in the country. The northern part of Italian Somaliland, comprising the sultanates of *Obbia* and of the *Migiurtini* and the Nogal territory, is ruled by native chiefs under an Italian protectorate.

In Lybia, Italy has obtained from Great Britain and France the promise of a readjustment of frontiers, so that its area will be about 1,900,000 kilometres. The population is usually reckoned at about a million. The colony is divided into two distinct centres of government—Tripolitania, with Tripoli as its capital (75,000 inhabitants), and Cyrenaica, with Bengasi as its chief city, containing a population of about 35,000, governed by two local parliaments.

In the East, awaiting more systematic partition projects, Italy continues to occupy the Dodecanese, which has about 100,000 inhabitants.

In the Far East, Italy possesses a small concession at Tientsin, on the right bank of the Peiho, where, on the former site of the old native village, has now arisen a miniature city on the European model, of about 10,000 inhabitants.

XXIII

LITERATURE AND ART

ALTHOUGH during the last hundred and seventy years, Italy has, through countless difficulties and incredible efforts, succeeded in attaining to the dignity of a great nation, and achieved a unity befitting the same, she can boast yet more justly of those great conquests which have made her name illustrious in the intellectual history of Europe. Her political regeneration was, in fact, preceded and accompanied by a renaissance in literature and art, of which the second half of the last century saw the beginning.

The poetic record of the eighteenth century had honourably closed with the illustrious names of Parini, Alfieri, Monti and Foscolo. Parini died just at the end of the century (August 15, 1799), whilst Alfieri hardly saw the beginning of a new age, since he died at Florence on the 8th of October, 1803, but the wide fame of Vincenzo Monti (1754–1828) lasted for the first quarter of the nineteenth century. He was the leader, *par excellence*, of the classic school in poetry which preponderated throughout the Napoleonic period. Though gifted with a marvellous poetic insight, Monti cared chiefly for form, and enriched his work with an incomparable harmony and grace, but as regarded sentiments, he only reproduced the trend of public opinion and timidly and cautiously followed its stream—at that time rapidly changing.

Of a very different type was Ugo Foscolo (1778–1827), who, on the return of the Austrians to Milan, retired first to Switzerland and afterwards to England (1816), where he passed his later years in teaching the British public to form a more just appreciation of Italian literature.[1] Endowed with a vivid imagination, he was certainly one of the most influential of Italian writers, and his ringing and inspiring verses exercised a wide fascination over the youth of the nineteenth century.

Prose had a worthy representative of its classic traditions in the historian, Carlo Botta (1766–1837), remarkable for the splendid form and breadth of style with which he describes and colours events, and justly called the 'Italian Livy.'

Classicism was, at that time, the dominant note in art, and in Antonio Canova (1757–1822) Italy could justly boast of an artist who had attained the acme of perfection in so-called 'academic' sculpture. Canova laboured indefatigably all his life, leaving numerous works behind him, and the progress made by Italian sculptors in our times is, in a great measure, owing to their great predecessor's inspiration

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[1] Ugo Foscolo died at Turnham Green, 10th of October, 1827, and was buried in Chiswick churchyard; his remains were afterwards transferred, in 1871, to the Church of Santa Croce at Florence, which he had celebrated in his *Sepolcri* as the pantheon of Italian genius.

In painting, the most eminent representative of the classic school was Andrea Appiani (1754–1817), the imperial court painter, who adorned the palace at Milan, as well as the royal villa at Monza, with so many valuable frescoes.

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Alessandro Manzoni (1785–1873), the author of *I Promessi Sposi*, was the most illustrious champion of the new romantic school in Italy. He was not altogether unknown, since his *Inni Sacri* and particularly his ode, *Il Cinque Maggio*, written on the news of Napoleon's death, had already procured him a wide popularity. But *I Promessi Sposi* was the author's *chef-d'œuvre*, and has certainly been the most widely-read Italian romance of its century. In his unaffected, limpid and thoughtful prose, Manzoni displayed an ardent love of freedom and justice, as well as a genuine sympathy for the poor and humble classes of society. But although perplexed by the problem of the world's injustice, it never provoked him to utter imprecations; he is always the Catholic who hopes for the regeneration of his country, but preaches the virtue of resignation.

What a vast difference between Manzoni and the other great writer, his contemporary, Giacomo Leopardi (1798–1837)! In the first, the perfect balance between the reasoning and imaginative faculties adorned a life that was both tranquil and happy; in the second, reigned a continual and jarring contrast between his colossal aspirations and the cramped surroundings of the little town of Recanati wherein he was compelled to live. Leopardi's existence was embittered alike by a feeble and sickly constitution which prevented him from enjoying life, and by the fury of the contending passions which raged within him: hence that deep and rooted melancholy which caused him to see nothing but misery in humanity.

Thus it was that for a long time Leopardi remained, as it were, an isolated Titan, little appreciated and less understood, whilst Manzoni gathered round him a numerous school of imitators and disciples, amongst whom may be distinguished Tommaso Grossi (1791–1853), author of the romance of *Marco Visconti*; the poet-patriot, Giovanni Berchet (1783–1851); Massimo D'Azeglio (1798–1866), who was at once painter, statesman, soldier and romancist; Silvio Pellico (1788–1854), the kindly author of *Le Mie Prigioni*—one of the most popular books in the world; Giovanni Ruffini (1807–1881), who, having emigrated to England, wrote several romances in English—including his *Doctor Antonio* and *Lorenzo Benoni*; and Cesare Cantù (1804–1895), who, however, is famous rather for his many historical publications and especially his *Storia Universale*, than for his romance, *Margherita Pusterla*.

Whilst this Lombardo-Piedmontese school of Manzoni preached moderation, it was, strangely enough, from peaceful Tuscany that the sounds of revolt were heard. They found expression in the fiery effusions of Francesco Domenico Guerrazzi of Leghorn (1804–1873), whose exuberant and passionate language voiced the aspirations of those Italians who panted to free themselves from their political servitude.

Giovan Battista Niccolini (1782–1861), a compatriot of Guerrazzi, also largely contributed to incite young Italy to destroy the yoke of the foreigner, and as a tragedian, worthily carried on the traditions of Vittorio Alfieri. But the Tuscan dialect is more adapted for playful sarcasm than for the expression of strenuous and indignant protest, so that we see the natural and spontaneous literary product of this region in the political satire of Giuseppe Giusti (1809–1850), whose raillery had a remarkable effect in developing a love of liberty, virtue and patriotism among his fellow-citizens.

All Italian literature of this period was made a vehicle for politics : reference has already been made in this connection to those two patriotic poets of Southern Italy, Gabriele Rossetti (1783–1854) and Alessandro Poerio (1802–1848), as well as to the young Genoese, Goffredo Mameli (1828–1849), whose *Canto Nazionale* resounded on every battlefield during the wars of Italian independence. Among Venetian poets may also here be mentioned : Francesco Dall'Ongaro (1808–1873), Aleardo Aleardi (1812–1878) and, most illustrious of all, Giovanni Prati (1815–1884), with his highly-strung artist-temperament.

Poet and philosopher combined was Niccolò Tommaseo (1802–1874), but far superior to him in mental endowment was his friend, Antonio Rosmini (1797–1855), who has left indelible traces on the history of philosophy. And side by side with Rosmini's name must be recorded that of the other great philosopher of that epoch, Vincenzo Gioberti (1801–1852), whose work, as we have seen, had far-reaching political results. Terenzio Mamiani (1799–1885) sought to reconcile the theories of Rosmini and Gioberti, but he owes his reputation rather to the elegance of his style than to the force of his ideas.

A great revival in historical research had also taken place: in Piedmont, the example set by Cesare Balbo (1789–1853) and Giuseppe Manno (1786–1867), was followed by Luigi Cibrario (1802–1870) and Ercole Ricotti (1816–1883). A native of Lombardy, Giuseppe Ferrari (1811–1876), after making studies of the Italian revolutions, evolved a theory of the possibility of determining with exactness the recurrence of historical cycles, whilst his compatriot, Cesare Cantù (1804–1895), devoted his indefatigable industry to a wider diffusion of historical knowledge. In Venetia, Emanuele Cicogna (1789–1868) and Eugenio Alberi (1817–1878) carried on the traditions of those diligent and erudite critics who have always flourished in that province. A Neapolitan exile, General Pietro Colletta (1775–1831), had repaired to Tuscany to write his *Storia del Reame di Napoli*, and it was in this same province that the Marquis Gino Capponi (1792–1876) inaugurated, as far back as 1842, in company with Vieusseux, the *Archivio Storico Italiano*, whilst

Atto Vannucci (1810–1883) devoted his distinguished powers to the *Storia dell'Italia Antica.* At Rome, every branch of learning had been neglected, nor had letters flourished to any great extent in the kingdom of Naples, but the memories of the past encouraged the study of philosophy and the more erudite sciences, of which the two most illustrious champions were the historian, Carlo Troya (1784–1858), and the philosopher, Pasquale Galluppi (1770–1846). In Sicily, Michele Amari (1806–1889) acquired a reputation by his *Storia del Vespro.*

Southern Italy continued, however, to be more especially distinguished for its musical celebrities, among whom it reckoned Cimarosa (1754–1801) and Paisiello (1741–1816), Saverio Mercadante (1797–1870), the brothers Ricci, the lively composers of *Crispino e la Comare*, Enrico Petrella of *Precauzioni* fame, Giovanni Pacini (1796–1867) and lastly, most illustrious of all, Vincenzo Bellini (1802–1835), who died at the age of thirty-three, after having so deeply stirred the world by the wonderful strains of his *Norma*, *Sonnambula* and *I Puritani.*

What a marvellous harvest did Italian music yield in the first half of the nineteenth century. Even before Bellini's works had seen the light, had appeared the *Barbiere di Siviglia* (1816), composed in thirteen days by that magician of opera, Gioachino Rossini, of Pesaro (1792–1868). His wonderfully fertile genius was equal to that rapid production which resulted in works of extraordinary intensity and fire, like *Semiramide* and *Guglielmo Tell.* But when he realised that his inspiration was exhausted, he wisely ceased to write and rested on his laurels.

Whilst Bellini rejoiced the hearts of Sicilians, and Central Italy was revelling in the strains of Rossini, another composer of the first rank appeared in Upper Italy, in the person of Gaetano Donizetti (1798–1848), who, with his *Lucia di Lammermoor*, *Poliuto* and *Favorita*, helped to ensure for his country absolute pre-eminence in the sphere of musical composition.

It would be difficult to find in the history of any other people, a period so replete with great men as Italy offered in the first half of the nineteenth century. It seemed, indeed, as if by her intelligent and unwearying activity, she would show herself worthy to rank again among the great nations of Europe. Only in sculpture and painting could she fail to boast of any genius fit to be named by the side of Canova. As was natural, in the fine arts, classicism had been displaced by romanticism, which may be said to have found special expression in the sculpture of Lorenzo Bartolini (1776–1850) and the paintings of Francesco Hayez (1791–1881), the two most eminent artists of this period ; with them must be mentioned another Italian sculptor, Carlo Marochetti (1805–1868), who, however, resided mostly in France or England, in which countries he acquired both wealth and renown.

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The events of 1848–1849 close the glorious epoch of preparation for Italian unity, but it was still the same generation which, in the vicissitudes of 1859–

1860, had accomplished the task of making Italy. After the proclamation, however, of the Italian kingdom in 1861, a new development was manifested in literature as in art: the great champions of the romantic school still held the stage, though already challenged by modern tendencies; as the romanticists, in their youth, had deserted the Greek and Roman heroes of the classic age, so the new generation abandoned, in its own turn, the mediæval subjects dear to its fathers, to find its *motifs* in everyday life.

Although Giosuè Carducci (1836–1907), armed with pagan and classic culture, at first entered the arena as a restorer of classicism, to continue the traditions of Foscolo and Alfieri, he was not long in asserting his individuality by clothing absolutely modern thought in classic garb, gaining thereby some fame as a poet. Carducci was equally distinguished as a master of prose both in his speeches and in his critical studies, wherein he combined precision and minute research with lofty synthesis.

Criticism and history were enormously developed during this period, by such able investigators as Ruggero Bonghi (1828–1895), who brought vast culture and deep thought to bear on the many different subjects which absorbed his wonderful energies, but the latter were so widely dissipated that whilst he has very appreciably influenced his own generation, he has not left any important work bearing his name, which can cause posterity to appraise him at his true value.

But the leading Italian historian of this epoch was Pasquale Villari (1827–1917), who introduced the positive method into Italy, and, even more than by his philosophical articles, succeeded in popularising history by the wonderful faculty that has enabled him to reconstruct, with such extraordinary clearness of insight, Florentine life in the times of Savonarola and Machiavelli. Villari was a thinker and artist of the first order, who, by his writings, knew how to make a bygone age live again for his readers.

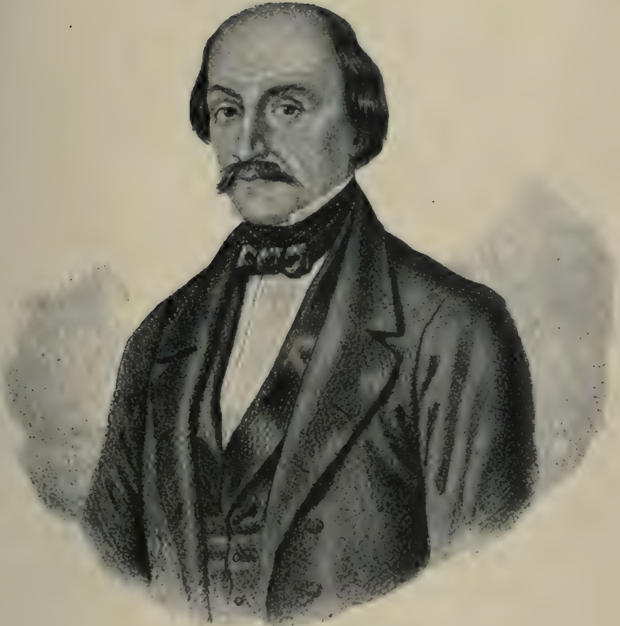
Another sane and forcible thinker was the senator, Tullo Massarani (1826–1905), who, in his work, *Come la pensava il Dottor Lorenzi*, has opened up a mine of noble thoughts and ideas which reveal the many-sided soul of the author as at once artist, poet, philanthropist, scientist and patriot. Having taken an active part in the national movement in Lombardy, he describes the same with colour and warmth, in his works on Carlo Tenca and Cesare Correnti, both of whom had been his friends and colleagues in journalism.

By the side of Massarani, among the men who have most contributed to give a direction, at once useful and sound, to the nation's culture, may be mentioned the illustrious name of Vittorio Bersezio (1830–1900), who besides having been one of the most eminent publicists of Italy, had acquired considerable fame as a writer of comedies, romances and, as an historian, by his work on *Il Regno di Vittorio Emanuele*.

To the historians quoted above, who, in a great measure, continued to produce new works after the middle of the century, we shall here add the names of the Benedictine Abbot, Luigi Tosti (1811–1897); Alberto Guglielmotti (1812–1893), a Dominican monk, noted for his works on the Italian navy; the two patriots, Luigi Carlo Farini (1812–1866) and Giuseppe La Farina (1815–1863), who dealt with contemporary history; Giuseppe De Leva (1821–1895), who devoted his researches to the times of Charles V.; Giuseppe Massari (1821–1884); Nicomede Bianchi (1818–1886); Giuseppe Guerzoni (1835–1886); Cardinal Alfonso Capecelatro, Archbishop of Capua; Domenico Carutti; Luigi Chiala; and Giovanni Faldella.

Romualdo Bonfadini (1831–1899) and Pompeo Molmenti (born in 1852) respectively applied their studies to the vicissitudes of Milan and Venice. We may also here mention Carlo Cipolla, Amedeo Crivellucci, Oreste Tommasini, Gaetano Salvemini, Pietro Silva, Camillo Manfroni, Alessandro Luzio, Guglielmo Ferrero and Costanzo Rinaudo—to say nothing of hosts of scholars who devote all their energies to documentary research.

Diligent and accurate research has been carried back to the most remote periods. Italy is naturally the country, *par excellence*, of archæology, and of late years this science has found most distinguished exponents in such men as Giovan Battista De Rossi (1822–1894), Ariodante Fabretti (1816–1894), with Giuseppe Fiorelli (1823–1896) and Giacomo Boni, director of the excavations at Rome, Domenico Comparetti, Ettore Pais, Luigi Pigorini, Ettore De Ruggero, Rodolfo Lanciani, Edoardo Brizio, Giulio De Petra, Felice Barnabei and Paolo Orsi.



LUIGI CARLO FARINI.

In all parts of Italy, historical societies have been formed, and have promoted the collection of documents and publication of reviews. To classify and regulate this branch of study, the Italian Historical Institute was founded at Rome in 1883, whose first president was Cesare Correnti (1815–1888), an eminent patriot. He was succeeded by Marco Tabarrini (1818–1898). Correnti and Tabarrini were rather polygraphers than genuine historians; with them can be reckoned Domenico Berti (1820–1897), at once philosopher, historian and politician; Aristide Gabelli (1830–1891), who concentrated his attention on educational problems; Francesco Paolo Perez (1815–1892), Emilio Broglio (1814–1892), Gaetano Negri (1838–1902), who published valuable critical, historical and political articles, F. S. Nitti, who was also President of the Council of Ministers, and Napoleone Colajanni.

In this rapid review of the intellectual movement in Italy, it is only just to include journalism, which has often been an important factor in determining the drift of public opinion towards nationalist ideas. Among the journalists of the *Risorgimento* period may be recalled the name of Antonio Gallenga, who was correspondent for the *Times*, and afterwards settled in England, where he died in 1895; as well as those of Felice Govean, Carlo Pisani, Paolo Fambri, Pier Carlo Boggio, Celestino Bianchi, Leone Fortis, Filippo Filippi and Desiderato Chiaves. In the period preceding 1870, three journalists represented, in a special manner, the conflict of parties; these were, Giovanni Battista Bottero—

editor of the *Gazzetta del Popolo*; Giacomo Dina—editor of the *Opinione*; and Don Margotti—the editor of the *Unità Cattolica*—who, in defence of the papacy, hotly contested all the ground won by the liberals from the most absolutely intransigent standpoint. Doctor Bottero and Don Margotti both possessed special polemical gifts, and the paper-war which these writers knew so well how to wage, without descending to personalities, was, for a long time, highly appreciated by their readers.

Journalism is now being more or less modelled on English and American lines, as regards telegraphic intelligence, and many literary men gave, and still give, a great part of their gifts and leisure to journalistic work; only a few—not mentioned elsewhere—need be recorded here; they include Domenico Oliva, Arturo Colautti, Leonida Bissolati, Luigi Arnaldo Vassallo, Delfino Orsi, Raffaello Barbiera, Luigi Albertini, Filippo Turati, Claudio Treves, Luigi Barzini, Guelfo Civinini, Crispolti, Bergamini, Nardini, Federzoni, Pedrazzi, Scarfoglio, Borgese, Galimberti, Janni, Vincenzo Morello and Benito Mussolini, now the President of the Council of Ministers.

Many autobiographical records belonging to the epoch of liberation—among which may be mentioned the *Autobiografia* of General Morozzo della Rocca, a book that has been translated into English—possess not only great historical importance, but much literary value as well, like Massimo D'Azeglio's *Ricordi*, and *Ricordanze della mia Vita* (1813–1876) by Luigi Settembrini. Among similar works, that entitled *Noterelle di uno dei Mille*, by Giuseppe Cesare Abba (1838–1911), deserves mention.

The writer who has achieved most in the department of criticism was Francesco De Sanctis (1818–1888), who, through his profound knowledge and clear insight, knew how to analyse the moral atmosphere of an age as well as how to appraise the true æsthetic value of a work, by piercing to the inmost core of the writer's meaning. The new school of erudition had one of its most eminent representatives in Adolfo Bartoli (1835–1894), whose *Storia della Letteratura Italiana*, in eight volumes, reviewed the history of Italian literature from its earliest beginnings to the time of Petrarca.

Indeed, Italy can boast of such eminent scholars in the ranks of criticism, as Alessandro D'Ancona, Bonaventura Zumbini, Francesco D'Ovidio, Isidoro Del Lungo, academician of the Crusca; the Senator, Benedetto Croce, Pio Rajna, Ernesto Monaci, Angelo De Gubernatis, Attilio Hortis, librarian at Trieste; Francesco Torraca, Rodolfo Renier, Michele Scherillo, Francesco Flamini, Tommaso Casini, Francesco Novati, Vincenzo Crescini, G. A. Cesareo, Vittorio Cian, and many others. Many of the most distinguished among them try to unite the two schools by combining a detailed and conscientious grasp of facts with capacity for research and psychological analysis. In this connection, for instance, may be recalled the name of Arturo Graf (1848–1913), professor in the University of Turin, who was, however, not only a savant and critic, but a poet of remarkable distinction.

It would seem that in these days erudition and poetry go hand in hand, and a striking proof thereof is furnished by Carducci. Here may be recorded, too, the names of Giuseppe Chiarini, Olindo Guerrini—well known by his *nom-de-plume* of 'Lorenzo Stecchetti'—Giovanni Marradi, Guido Mazzoni, Giovanni Pascoli and Severino Ferrari—poets who mostly represent Carducci's school of thought. The great Sicilian poet Mario Rapisardi was a strong opponent of Carducci, and is the author of two very highly-rated poems, *Lucifero* and *Giobbe*, besides being well known as an elegant translator.

Two must be mentioned who, richly endowed with poetical gifts, both died in the flower of their age—Emilio Praga and Iginio Ugo Tarchetti. Enrico Panzacchi, who can be both forcible and melodious; Domenico Gnoli, Giovanni Cena, Alfredo Baccelli, and Giovanni Bertacchi, all deserve mention. The poetry of Riccardo Pitteri, the Trieste writer, is redolent of the author's patriotism.

Among poetesses, the eminent improvisatrice, Giannina Milli, enjoyed a high reputation; Alinda Bonacci-Brunamonti produces good verse, and Ada Negri (born in 1870) has attained a rapid celebrity by her poetry.

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Edmondo De Amicis (1846–1908) became a socialist by the excess of his sentimentalism. He began to write while still an officer in the army, but left the service to give himself up entirely to literature. *Cuore*, one of his books for schools, had an immense and well-deserved success, for De Amicis knows how to touch the inmost feelings of the heart and awaken the liveliest emotions of his readers. His last productions are characteristic of his new political leanings, and are distinguished by an exalted morality.

To the same period belong the writings of another well-known Italian genius, the poet and romancist, Antonio Fogazzaro (1842–1921); the three novels, *Malombra*, *Daniele Cortis* and *Piccolo Mondo Antico* were the volumes which mark the artistic career of this writer.

Giovanni Verga (1840–1922) modelled his work on naturalistic methods, his novels being remarkable for their nicety of observation. It was Verga's *Novelle Rusticane* that furnished the composer Mascagni with the libretto for his *Cavalleria Rusticana*. Another realistic writer of fiction, Luigi Capuana, has published critical essays, as well as excellent popular tales for children. To the same school of realism, belongs the distinguished authoress, Matilde Serao; besides innumerable articles in the periodicals, she has published several novels which have won for her a foremost place among Italian women writers.

Mention must also be made of Grazia Deledda, who illustrates Sardinian life, Beatrice Speraz, Anna Radius Zuccari, Virginia Treves, Maria Torriani; whilst Ida Baccini, the Tuscan authoress, writes books for young people.

Quite another direction has been taken by Salvatore Farina, Anton Giulio Barrili and Enrico Castelnuovo—romancists and novelists who model their works upon English exemplars. With them may be bracketed Girolamo Rovetta, who has also attempted the drama with success.

Mention must also be made of Alfredo Panzini, Luciano Zùccoli, G. A. Borgese, Virginio Brocchi and M. Saponaro. But the Italian man of letters who has succeeded in provoking the most animated discussion is Gabriele D'Annunzio (born at Pescara in 1863). Gifted with æsthetic sensibility and a marvellous poetic instinct, he has created a school of his own. He has developed that type of psychological romance in Italy of which Bourget is the French exponent, and, for the most part, describes that class of society, unhealthy in its tendencies, covetous of enjoyment and refined in its tastes, which is vulgarly known as 'high life.' A master of the Italian language, he often falls back on a preciosity of style that recalls the work of the sixteenth-century writers, but in poetry he achieves artistic perfection. Some of his lyrics are inspired by strenuous civic and patriotic ideals. D'Annunzio keenly felt the need for Italy to intervene in the world war, and by his patriotic utterances greatly influenced the demonstrations of May, 1915. From that time onwards his whole life as a poet, citizen and soldier has been concentrated on the cause of his country: hence the great devotion of young Italy to Gabriele D'Annunzio.

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The Italian stage has, during the nineteenth century, boasted of a powerful and fertile genius in Paolo Giacometti (1817–1882), who, constrained to live the vagabond life of a travelling theatrical company as a writer of comedies, constantly under the necessity of supplying a certain number of plays in the year, often exhausted his happy vein by excessive and hasty production. Some of his comedies still hold the stage, as *La Colpa vendica la Colpa* and *La Morte Civile*, which have afforded such great artists as Gustavo Modena, Tommaso Salvini and Ernesto Rossi with scope for their dramatic powers.

Since we are on the subject of actors, it behoves us to mention one of the most celebrated actresses of last century—Adelaide Ristori, Marchioness Capranica Del Grillo, as well as Eleonora Duse, Ermete Novelli, Ermete Zacconi, and Ferruccio Benini.

After Giacometti, Paolo Ferrari (1822–1889) for many years held a foremost place among Italian dramatists; he is more especially remembered by his historical comedies. The historical drama was very successfully cultivated by Pietro Cossa (1834–1881) and Felice Cavallotti (1842–1898) who wrote dramas and comedies which were highly applauded. Valentino Carrera (1830–1895) sought to revive the genial popular comedy of Goldoni, but Giacinto Gallina (1852–1897) most successfully dramatised contemporary life.

Giuseppe Giacosa (1847–1906) was an exquisite artist in verse, who, after the production of his romantic idylls of the *Partita a Scacchi* and the *Trionfo d'Amore*, attained distinction as a writer of brilliant comedy and historical drama. At the present time, Roberto Bracco, Marco Praga and the brothers Camillo and Giannino Antona Traversi have distinguished themselves among playwrights, as have Dario Nicodemi, Alfredo Testoni, Renato Simoni, Sem Benelli, Sabatino Lopez, Luigi Pirandello and Giuseppe Adami. Another dramatic writer is Ferdinando Martini, who has devoted himself to political life and was governor of Erythrea.

The names of two eminent Tuscan humorists, both deceased, ought to be mentioned—Carlo Lorenzini, who produced a series of exquisite books for children, and Pier Francesco Ferrigni, whose pseudonym of *Yorick* was known throughout Italy. Tuscan wit also colours the dialect verses of Renato Fucini. Also Enrico Nencioni (1840–1896), who wrote articles on English poets, was a Tuscan.

Among the authors connected with art-criticism, special mention is due to the senator, Giovanni Morelli (1816–1891), and to Giovan Battista Cavalcaselle (1827–1897), who, in collaboration with the Englishman Crowe, has produced a valuable history of painting, as well as to the writers, Camillo Boito, Adolfo Venturi, Giulio Cantalamessa, Corrado Ricci, Vittorio Pica, Dino Mantovani, Gino Fogolari, Nino Barbantini and Ugo Oietti.

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The revulsion which had taken place in literature was also verified in painting and sculpture. For some time, the romantic school had asserted itself without opposition, but the desire of approximating closer to the truth of nature led the more powerful artists to abandon the familiar tracks they had hitherto followed. The first departure in this line was made by the brothers Domenico and Girolamo Induno, who, by introducing *genre* painting, brought art into harmony with contemporary life. Whilst they were originating this new impulse in Milan, Filippo Palizzi of Naples devoted himself entirely to the truthful delineation of animal life, and Tuscany produced a great artist in Giovanni Dupré (1817–1882). The greatest Italian sculptor of the last century, Vincenzo Vela (1822–1891), came, as a youth, from his native place Ligornetto, to Milan and afterwards settled at Turin. He exercised an enormous influence over Italian sculpture and gave it a thoroughly realistic development.

Two great innovators of art were Domenico Morelli, the painter, and Giulio Monteverde, the sculptor. Domenico Morelli (1826–1901) was a rebel against academic art and a bold and trenchant art reformer. Giulio Monteverde began to acquire a reputation by his *Giovinezza di Cristoforo Colombo*, and confirmed it by his *Genio di Franklin.*

Considering what diverse currents are at work simultaneously in our modern life, it is not here proposed to classify the various art schools, but simply to record the names of the most eminent artists who have adorned the various districts of Italy during the last half-century. In Piedmont, for instance, the traditions of landscape-painting have been worthily carried on by Antonio Fontanesi, Angelo Beccaria, Carlo Pittara, Demetrio Cosola, Bartolomeo Giuliano, Lorenzo Delleani, Marco Calderini, Cesare Maggi, Andrea Tavernier and the great Oriental artist, Alberto Pasini. Among *genre*-painters, Giovan Battista Quadrone (1844–1898) won a high reputation, as likewise has done Giacomo Grosso for his wonderful skill and productiveness as a figure-painter. Vittorio Cavalleri, Carlo Stratta, Gilardi, and Turletti must likewise be mentioned among others. In sculpture, to the name of Odoardo Tabacchi, we may add those of Luigi Belli and Davide Calandra, Pietro Canonica and Edoardo Rubino ; but worthy of special distinction is Leonardo Bistolfi—a most powerful artist.

The league between Piedmont and Lombardy was typified by Eleuterio Pagliano (d. 1903), who devoted himself almost exclusively to portraying battle scenes ; Sebastiano De Albertis (1828–1897) also devoted his talents to military subjects. A numerous crowd of disciples have been trained in the school of Giuseppe Bertini (1820–1898)—a painter justly esteemed for the beauty of his designs. Tranquillo Cremona was a worker of an enterprising turn of mind, but died at the age of forty-one, in 1878, ere his powers were matured. Uberto dell'-Orto (1848–1897) and Francesco Filippini (1853–1895) also followed the new school which acknowledges as its leaders Mosé Bianchi, and Filippo Carcano whose name is associated with pictures of limitless and nebulous horizons. With these well-known champions may be bracketed Eugenio Gignous, Pietro Michis, Emilio Gola, Arnaldo

Ferraguti, Pompeo Mariani, Giorgio Belloni, Giuseppe Mentessi, Leonardo Bazzaro and other excellent colourists. Giovanni Segantini (1858–1899), a most powerful exponent of the modern impressionist school, occupied a niche by himself. Amongst Lombard sculptors of the later period were Magni, Bergonzoli, Barzaghi, and Grandi, whilst in the ranks of those still living are Ernesto Bazzaro, Enrico Butti, Paolo Troubetzkoy, Antonio Carminati, and Emilio Quadrelli.

Venice, as well, contributed her share to the revival of art. Pre-eminent in this renaissance was Giacomo Favretto (1849–1887), whose productions entitle him to rank as the founder of the new Venetian school of painting. Guglielmo Ciardi, Pietro Fragiacomo, Luigi Nono and Silvio Rotta are recently dead; but among distinguished names to-day are those of Alessandro Milesi, Cesare Laurenti, Ettore Tito, Angelo dall'Oca Bianca, Vincenzo de Stefani, Bezzi, the brothers Selvatico, Beppe and Emma Ciardi, Ferruzzi, Zanetti-Miti and Bressanin. Among Venetian sculptors, Antonio dal Zotto, Carlo Lorenzetti, Emilio Marsili, Vito Pardo, and Urbano Nono deserve honourable mention. Indeed, Venice has become one of the greatest artistic centres of Italy, especially since 1895, when, through the generous and noble initiative of the municipality, at the suggestion of Riccardo Selvatico, the mayor, was inaugurated the first Exhibition of Fine Arts, which, arranged by a system of invitations, and marked by a special *cachet* of distinction, was an unqualified success. The chief secretary of the committee, Professor Antonio Fradeletto, so well known as an eloquent orator, has devoted for years past all his great intellectual activity, as well as his tireless practical energy, to the organisation of these exhibitions.

Liguria has produced a painter, conspicuous for his religious and patriotic feeling, in Niccolò Barabino (1831–1891), who, during forty years of continuous effort, lavished genuine treasures of art on Italy, whilst recently Plinio Nomellini has come to the front.

Among the artists of Emilia must be mentioned: Adeodato Malatesta (1806–1891), Giovanni Muzzioli (1854–1894), Gaetano Chierici and Raffaele Faccioli, painters, and Diego Sarti, Enrico Barberi and Giuseppe Romagnoli, sculptors.

The Tuscan school boasts such illustrious names in painting as those of Stefano Ussi, Giovanni Fattori, Michele Gordigiani, Telemaco Signorini, the brothers Francesco and Luigi Gioli, Adolfo and Angelo Tommasi, Stefano Bruzzi, Arturo Faldi, Francesco Vinea, Odoardo Gelli, Arturo Moradei, Vittorio Corcos and Tito Lessi; in sculpture, it can claim Augusto Rivalta, Emilio Gallori, Emilio Zocchi, and others. One of the most illustrious and meritorious of Tuscan artists was Cesare Maccari, but now settled at Rome, where he has embellished the palace of the Senate by his wonderful frescoes.

Roman art has received a new impetus from the Neapolitan painter, Bernardo Celentano, who died at the age of twenty-eight, in 1863; with his name may be recalled that of Cesare Fracassini, who also died young (1839–1868). Francesco Podesti of Rome (1800–1895) was a fresco-painter but a follower of the classical school. Among the Roman artists, Scipione Vannutelli, Francesco Jacovacci, Cesare Biseo, Enrico Coleman, Antonio Mancini, Augusto Corelli and Aristide Sartorio have acquired a reputation. Among sculptors, mention of the lamented Ercole Rosa, Roberto Bompiani, Eugenio Maccagnani and Ettore Ferrari ought not to be omitted.

The Neapolitan provinces, after Morelli and Palizzi, have produced a fine succession of painters, including Francesco Saverio Altamura (1826–1897), Achille Vertunni (1826–1897), Giuseppe de Nittis (1841–1884), Francesco Netti (1832–1894) and Francesco Paolo Michetti. Among other southern painters are Edoardo Dalbono, Federico Cortese, Camillo Miola, Giovacchino Toma, Alceste Campiani, Vincenzo Caprile, Rubens Santoro, Salvatore Postiglione, Gaetano Esposito and Vincenzo Irolli, whilst the sculptors include the brothers Francesco and Vincenzo Jerace, Alfonso Balzico, Achille d'Orsi and Vincenzo Gemito.

One of the most illustrious Sicilian painters was Giuseppe Sciuti; the eminent sculptors, Salvatore Grita and Ettore Ximenes, are also both natives of Sicily. Another excellent rising Sicilian sculptor is Domenico Trentacoste, who, however, resides at Florence The artists of Sicily include the painters Francesco Lojacono and Salvatore Marchesi, and the sculptors, Benedetto Civiletti, Mario Rutelli and Vincenzo Ragusa.

Giuseppe Verdi.

From this long catalogue of names, many of which are already well known even out of Italy, and from the various idiosyncrasies characterising lately exhibited works, it is only fair to conclude that Italian activities in the field of art—as elsewhere—are many and great, and that the same ideas, tendencies and influences which are abroad throughout Europe, are also making themselves felt in the peninsula.

⁂

But Italy's crowning glory is her music. The fame of Giuseppe Verdi who, born in 1813 at Busseto (Parma) (died in 1901), first electrified the public in 1842 by his *Nabucco*, has been consistently maintained during the past half-century. This veteran composer, who may be said to have struck, in his music, every chord of human emotion, scored a marvellous series of successes in his *Ernani* (1844), *Rigoletto* (1851), *Trovatore* (1853), *Traviata* (1853), *Aida* (1871), *Otello* (1887) and *Falstaff* (1893), and still stands unequalled among his contemporaries.

Of all the works produced by other Italian musicians throughout this period, two only seem likely to endure: the *Gioconda* of Amilcare Ponchielli (1834–1886), and the *Mefistofele* of Arrigo Boito. The works of Giacomo Puccini, Pietro Mascagni, Ruggero Leoncavallo, Alberto Franchetti and Umberto Giordano have already met with appreciation beyond the confines of Italy. Moreover, sacred music has likewise found a worthy exponent in Mgr. Lorenzo Perosi.

Not only in the sphere of art and letters, but in that of science also, does the Italy of to-day reckon distinguished students. It will suffice merely to recall the philologist, Graziadio Ascoli; the philosopher, Roberto Ardigò; the political economists, Francesco Ferrara and Girolamo Boccardo; the well-known criminologist, Cesare Lombroso; the physiologist, Angelo Mosso; the chemist, Stanislas Cannizzaro; the mathematicians, Luigi Cremona and Eugenio Beltrami; the electrician, Galileo Ferraris; Augusto Righi, Antonio Pacinotti and Guglielmo Marconi; and the astronomer, Giovanni Schiaparelli. With these ought to be remembered the names of those who have so largely helped to popularise science. Among such, in the past, can be reckoned Michele Lessona, Antonio Stoppani, Paolo Mantegazza and Paolo Lioy.

Pulpit oratory found an eloquent representative in the late Padre Agostino Da Montefeltro—whose name in the world was Luigi Vicini; his sermons strike a distinctly modern note and were accentuated in delivery by the fervour of the preacher. Fr. Semeria and Fr. Gemelli ought also to be mentioned as pulpit orators.

The numerous reviews now published for Italian readers tend much to diffuse culture; of these, the *Nuova Antologia*, founded in Florence in 1865, then transferred to Rome, and at present edited by the Senatore Maggiorino Ferraris, takes the lead.

For Italy is at work, and rich indeed is the fruit of her labours. When we consider the changes that have taken place within her borders during the last hundred years, and reflect on the length and difficulty of the road that has been hers in order to attain a place by the side of the countries in the first ranks of progress, we must allow how glorious, in every phase, is her record.

INDEX

Aberdeen, Lord, 227
Abruzzi, 78, 122, 297
Abruzzi, Duke of, 376
Abyssinia, 326, 328, 330, 333, 344
Acqui, 37, 143
Acton, John, 30
Adda, 184
Addis-Abeba, 344
Adige, 38, 167, 174, 176, 180, 183
Adigrat, 331
Adowa, 331, 332
Adriatic, 206, 253, 262, 264
Africa, 328
Agordat, 328
Agostino Da Montefeltro, Padre, 405
Ajaccio, 62
Ala, 356
Alberoni, Cardinal, 2
Albert, Archduke, 304
Albertone, General, 332
Aleardi, Aleardo, 382
Alessandria, 37, 50, 84, 113, 242, 251, 253, 259, 260
Alfieri, Vittorio, 378, 382, 386; effect of his dramas, 33, 34; tragedies, 26; quoted, 4
Algeciras Conference, 343
Amari, Enrico, arrested, 152
Amari, Gabriele, arrested, 152
Amba-Alagi, 330
Amedeo, Prince, 306
America, 365
Amicis, E. De, 393, 394
Ancona, 45, 103, 105, 206, 238, 253, 280, 307, 308
Andreoli, Giuseppe, 91
Anita, Garibaldi's wife, 208, 210, 211, 212
Annunziata, Church of the, 82
Aosta, 50
Aosta, Duke of, 360
Appiani, Andrea, 351, 380
Aragon, Alfonso of, 72 *note*
Aragonese dynasty, 31
Arcole, battle of, 40
Arimondi, General, 332
Armellini, 204
Arno, 301
Arrivabene, 70
Asiago plateau, 366
Asmara, 327
Aspromonte, 147, 300, 324
Assab, 326
Austerlitz, 52, 61
Austria, 3, 12, 38, 43, 45, 53, 59, 65, 66, 70, 73, 79, 84, 85, 130, 141, 149, 159, 161, 174, 192, 193, 194, 201, 204, 206, 208, 212, 215, 218, 219, 222, 230, 231, 233, 234, 238, 240, 248, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 263, 269, 283, 296, 297, 300, 303, 304, 306, 309, 313, 323, 344, 355, 357, 358
Avellino, 76
Avesani, 166
Avignon, 41

Bagnasco, Francesco, 152
Bainsizza, 362
Balbo, Cesare, 119, 126, 129, 134, 141, 219; quoted, 56
Baldissera, General, 332
Balkans, 348
Bandiera brothers, 122, 123
Baratieri, General, 328, 330, 331, 332 and *note*
Basilicata, 277, 297, 298
Bassano, 40
Bassi, Ugo, 210

Battisti, Cesare, 358, 359
Bava, Eusebio, 173, 195
Bavaria, 60
Beatrice (daughter of Hercules III.), 19
Beatrice, singer of, 272
Beauharnais, Eugène, 52, 59, 60
Becattini, Francesco, author, 24
Beccaria, Cesare, author, 9
Belgioioso, house of, 8
Belgium, 43, 102
Bellini, Vincenzo, 384, 385
Benadir, 343, 344, 376
Benedict XV., 353, 372
Bentinck, Lord William, 58
Bentivegna, Francesco, 239
Benvenuti, Cardinal, 103
Berchet, Giovanni, 69, 102, 119; quoted, 101, 120
Bergamo, 187, 260
Berlin, 6, 7, 303; Congress of, 320, 322
Bernard, St., passage of, 49, 50
Bernetti, Cardinal, 127
Bersezio, Vittorio, 387
Bertani, Agostino, 270
Berti of Ravenna, 123
Besançon, 30
Bezzecca, 307
Biccocca, Valley of, 198
Biglia, Giuseppe, 113
Bismarck, 303
Bixio, Nino, 270, 274
Blücher, 61
Boito, Arrigo, 404
Bologna, 22, 38, 40, 41, 100, 105, 159, 323, 375
Bolza, Count, 165
'Bomba, King,' 190
Bonaparte, Brothers, 101
Bonaparte, Joseph, 53, 57
Boncompagni, Carlo, 156
Bonghi, Ruggero, 155, 386
Bonnet, Nino, 211
Borgès, Don José, 298
Bormida, 37, 143
Borromeo, house of, 8
Borsieri, 90
Boselli, Paolo, 361
Bosnia, 323, 344
Botta, Carlo, 48, 379
Braschi, Prince, 26
Brenta, 40
Brescia, 260, 300; resistance of to Austrians, 201
Briganti, General, 277
Brofferio, Angelo, 98, 156
Brondolo, 213, 214
Bronzetti, Pilade, 280
Brosses, Charles De, his impressions of Rome quoted, 23
Brunetti, Angelo, 137
Bruno, Faà Di, 308
Bubna, 90
Buccari, 366
Buffalora, 197, 260
Bulgaria, 366
Buoncompagni, deputy, 290, 294

Cadorna, General, 356, 363
Cadorna, Raffaele, 314
Cæsars, the, 289
Cagliari, Bishop of, 224
Cairoli brothers, 274
Cairoli, Enrico, 311
Cairoli, Giovanni, 311
Calabria, 57, 62, 122, 123, 277, 297, 298, 300, 345
Calatafimi, 275, 323
Campiani, Alceste, 402
Campo Formio, treaty of, 43, 51
Canal, Bernardo, 231
Caneva, General, 348
Canosa, 89, 103
Canova, Antonio, sculptor, 26, 379, 385
Cantù, 119, 381, 383
Capecelatro, Cardinal Alfonso, 388
Capello, General, 360
Capitol, the, 279
Capodimonte, 28
Caporetto, 362
Cappellari, Mauro, 100
Cappellini, Alfredo, 308
Capponi, 119, 202
Caprera, 283, 300, 310, 312, 313, 323
Caprile, Vincenzo, 402
Capua, 278, 283, 324

Caracciolo, Admiral Francesco, 46
Caracciolo, Marquis Domenico, 32
Carbonari, 75, 83, 111, 130
Carbone, Domenico, 144
Carducci Giosuè, 386
Caroline, Queen, 30, 46, 48, 57, 58
Carretto, Del, 96, 115
Carso, 360
Casale, 143, 252, 260; Congress at, 143
Casanovo, Giacomo, *Memorie* of, 14
Caserta, palace of, 28, 269
Castagneto, Count Di, 143
Castelbarco, house of, 8
Castelfidardo, 280
Castel Gandolfo, 315
Castelli Michelangelo, 156
Castiglione delle Stiviere, 38
Castillia, Gaetano, 90
Catalani, 92
Catania, 116, 202, 300, 375
Catholics, 288, 289, 290
Cattaneo, Carlo, 165
Cavalletto, 231
Cavalotti, Felice, 334
Cavan, Lord, 367
Cavedalis, Colonel, 192
Cavour, Camillo, 156, 157, 167, 226, 231, 233, 234, 236, 237, 238, 239, 242, 244, 248, 249, 256, 263, 266, 267, 277, 279, 286, 288, 289, 294, 295, 296, 303, 319; justifies his policy, 249–259; on the Roman question, 286–294
Cavriana, 262
Centofanti, 140
Cesena, 105
Cesenatico, 208
Ceva, 37
Chambord, Count de, 232
Charles III. of Naples, 27, 28
Charles III. of Parma, 230, 232
Charles Albert, 83, 84, 86, 91, 92, 93, 99, 105, 113, 114, 115, 120, 126, 129, 130, 132, 133, 140, 142, 143, 144, 148, 155, 157, 158, 167, 168, 172, 173, 174, 175, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 194, 195, 197, 198, 200, 216, 220, 242, 243, 249 *note*, 250
Charles Emmanuel III., 1, 4
Charles Emmanuel IV., 45
Charles Felix, 83, 84, 85, 86, 89, 92, 98, 106
Charles Louis of Bourbon, 149, 230
Chieri, 295
Chiesa, Cardinal della, 352
Chiesa, Damiano, 359
Chivasso, 258
Cialdini, General, 280, 304, 307
'Ciceruacchio,' 137, 210
Cilento, 96
Cirillo, Domenico, 46
Cisalpine Republic, 42, 43, 51
Cispadane Republic, 40, 42, 43
Civita-Vecchia, 312
Civitella del Leonto, 284
Clarendon, Lord, 238; speech of, 237
Clement XIV., suppresses Jesuits, 27 *note*
Clotilde, Princess, 248
Coatit, 330
Cobden, Richard, 138
Collegno, Provana Di, 83
Colletta, General Pietro, 79, 119
Comacchio, 211
Como, 10
Condillac, 18
Confalonieri, Federico, 68, 69, 89, 90, 91, 165; death of, 149
Confalonieri, Countess Teresa, 89, 91
Conforti, Francesco, 46
Congregations, Lombard and Venetian, 150, 161
Consalvi, Cardinal, 72
Contarini, Carlo, imprisoned, 12
Corfu, 122, 123
Corleone road, 276
Cormons, 309
Cornero, 156
Corno, Monte, 359

Cornuda, 176
Correggio's *St. Jerome*, 38
Correnti, Cesare, 149, 361
Corsica, 62; ceded to Louis XV., 15
Cosenz, Enrico, 214, 276
Cotrone, 123
Crimea, 234
Crispi, Francesco, 270, 271, 274, 327, 328, 334; ministry, 332, 334; policy of, 333
Crocco, 297
Curtatone, 180, 182
Custoza, 183, 257, 306
Cyrenaica, 348, 350
Czarnowski, 195, 197, 198

Dabormida, General, 332
D'Adda, house of, 8
Dalmatia, 11, 368
D'Angennes, Monsignor, 157
D'Annunzio, Gabriele, 365, 369, 395
Dante, 6th centenary of, 302
Dante Alighieri Society, 375
Dardanelles, 348
D'Azeglio, Massimo, 67, 119, 124, 127, 129, 219, 220, 224; quoted, 66
D'Azeglio, Roberto, 157
Dego, fighting at, 37
Denina, Carlo, 6
Depretis, Agostino, 319, 327
Derna, 348, 349
Desaix, General, 50, 51
Diaz, General, 364, 368
Dodecanese, 349
Dogali, 326
Donizetti, Gaetano, 385
Durando brothers, 98
Durando, Giacomo, 156; his work on Italy, 128
Durando, General Giovanni, 174, 176, 181
Durazzo, 357

Elba, 61, 62
Elizabeth Farnese, 16, 27
Emilia, 48, 62, 101, 266; artists of, 401
Emmanuel, Victor, II., 346
Emmanuel, Victor, III., 338, 340, 342, 356
England, 15, 104, 113, 171, 233, 236, 238, 250, 256, 277, 280
Erythrea, 327, 328, 330
Este, House of, 18, 70
Etna, 128, 171
Etruria, Kingdom of, 51
Europe, 14, 24, 61, 99, 222, 237, 239, 240, 246, 249, 250, 252, 255, 270, 278, 287, 289

Failly, General De, 313
Fanti, General, 280
Farini, Luigi Carlo, 127, 266, 296
Farnese family, 16
Fascisti movement, 373
Ferdinand of Austria, Archduke, 19
Ferdinand I. of Austria, 114; abdicates, 193
Ferdinand, Duke of Parma, 18
Ferdinand of Naples, 28, 30, 44, 58, 62, 76, 80, 81, 82, 89, 92, 93, 96; assumes title of Ferdinand I. of Two Sicilies, 72
Ferdinand II. of Naples, 98, 115, 116, 120, 146, 155, 178, 190, 201, 202, 206, 207, 226, 239, 269
Ferdinand III. of Tuscany, 60, 71, 95
Ferrara, 18, 38, 40, 41, 79, 206, 304
Ferretti, Cardinal, 136
Ferretti, Giovanni Mastai, 134
Ficuzza, 58
Filangieri, Gaetano, author, 31
Filzi, Fabio, 359
Finzi, 231
Fiume, 368, 369
Florence, 19, 86, 138, 140, 202, 203, 265, 301, 302, 312, 314, 315, 375
Fogazzaro, Antonio, 394
Forlì, 101, 105
Foscolo, Ugo, 43 *note*, 59, 378, 379

Fossombroni, Count, 71
Fradeletto, Professor Antonio, 401
France, 14, 15, 36, 104, 171, 195, 201, 204, 206, 234, 236, 238, 242, 244, 248, 252, 263, 267, 278, 283, 288, 289, 294, 313, 323, 327, 341, 343, 344, 366, 369
Francis II., Emperor, 41, 65, 70, 91; death of, 114
Francis Joseph, Emperor, 193, 241, 260, 262, 263, 341, 360, 361
Francis IV. of Modena, 70, 91, 92, 98, 99, 101, 103, 148
Francis V. of Modena, 148, 230, 265 *note*
Francis I. of Naples, Vicar, 81; succeeds his father as king, 96; death of, 97
Francis II. of Naples, 269, 270, 277, 278, 283, 297, 298
Franz Ferdinand, Archduke, 352
Frederic II., 6, 7; hats, 66; (the Great), 244
Frederic Barbarossa, 120

Gaeta, 191, 204, 278, 283
Gaisruch, 150
Gallenga, Antonio, 390
Galliano, Major, 330, 332
Galvagno, 156
Garda, Lake of, 38, 174, 262
Garelli, Captain, 89
Garibaldi, Giuseppe, 114, 186, 206, 207, 208, 239, 244, 248, 260, 267, 269, 270, 271, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 294, 295, 300, 301, 304, 307, 310, 312, 313, 323, 324; *Memorie* quoted, 208–212, 271–272
Garibaldi, Peppino, 353
Gavotti, Antonio, 113
Gemelli, 405
Genga, Cardinal Della, 97
Genoa, 15, 16, 42, 49, 50, 59, 65, 87, 94, 95, 112, 141, 143, 218, 259, 271, 276, 319, 375
Genoa, Duke of, 182, 198, 236, 320
Genovesi, Antonio, 31
Germany, 306, 323, 351, 361, 366
Giacometti, Paolo, 396
Giacosa, Giuseppe, 396
Gibibrossa, mountains of, 324
Gioberti, Vincenzo, 113, 123, 126, 127, 134, 155, 177, 233, 383; quoted, 124–125
Gioia, 70
Giolitti, 328, 342, 350, 352
Giorgini, 140
Girgenti, 79
Giusti, Giuseppe, 119, 382
Gladstone, William Ewart, his letters to Lord Aberdeen quoted, 227–230
Goito, 180, 181, 257
Goldoni, Carlo, comedies of, 15
Gonzaga dynasty, 8
Gorizia, 360, 363
Graf, Arturo, 392
Graham, Sir James, 229
Grappa, Monte, 364
Graziani, Rear-Admiral, 192
Grazioli, Bartolomeo, 231
Great Britain, 345, 352
Gregory XVI., 100, 126, 133
Greppi palace, 185
Grossi, 119
Guerrazzi, Francesco Domenico, 119, 140, 192, 202, 382
Gyulai, General, 258, 259, 260

Hamilton, 46
Hamilton, Lady, 48
Hapsburg empire, 370
Hapsburgh-Lorraine dynasty, 45
Haynau, General, 201, 213
Helena, St., 62
Herculaneum, 28
Hercules III., 18, 19
Herzegovina, 344
Hess, Marshal, 262
Holy Alliance, 73, 81, 92
Holy See, 105
Hudson, English ambassador at Turin, 282

Humbert I., 338, 341
Humbert, Prince, 306
Hungary, 193, 368

Imola, 134
Inquisition, 8, 71
Isonzo, 175, 356, 362
Istria, 11, 369
Italy, 1, 2, 7, 14, 16, 32, 33, 34, 68, 69, 71, 73, 74, 121, 128, 140, 141, 151, 159, 161, 172, 186, 196, 201, 203, 222, 230, 238, 239, 244, 248, 252, 254, 257, 263, 264, 266, 267, 283, 287, 288, 289, 295, 303, 306, 313, 315, 316, 318, 322, 323, 328, 330, 333, 349, 354, 355, 370, 372
Italy, Central, 98, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 385
Italy, Lower, 316
Italy, Southern, 155, 316, 334
Italy, Upper, 45, 59, 268, 334

Jena, 61
Jesuits, Order of, 27 *note*, 71; expelled from Naples, 28, 126, 129
John, Negus of Abyssinia, 326
Joseph II., 10, 22, 68
Jouan, Gulf of, 61
Jugo-Slavia, 368

Karl, Archduke, 41, 357
Kassala, 328, 333
Keren, 327, 376

La Cava, 196
La Farina, Giuseppe, 140, 239, 270
Lafayette, 98
La Gala, Cipriano, 297
La Gancia, convent of, 270
La Grange, Luigi, 7
La Mandriola, 211
La Marmora, Alfonso, 226, 234, 296, 303, 304, 320
La Masa, 274
Lambruschini, Cardinal, 127, 133
Lamoricière, General, 270, 279, 280
Landi, General, 275
Laneri, 89
Lansdowne, Lord, 229
Lanza, 296, 313
Lateran, 315
Lateran, St. John, façade of, 26
Latium, 208
Lausanne, treaty of, 350
Legations, 188, 237
Leggiero, 210, 211
Leghorn, 19, 59, 203, 265
Legnago, 167, 172
Leo XII., 97, 100
Leo XIII., 321, 341
Leoben, treaty of, 41
Leopardi, Giacomo, 94, 380, 381
Leopold, Peter, I., his reforms, 20; called to imperial throne, 22; régime of, 95
Leopold II. of Tuscany, 95, 120, 140, 148, 158, 203, 264 *note*
Lesseps, Ferdinand De, 206
Leybach Congress, 80, 81
Libya, 350, 376
Liguria, 49, 54, 212, 218, 316
Lisio, Count Moffa Di, 83
Lissa, 307, 308
Litta, house of, 8
Lodi, victory at, 38
Lombardo-Venetian provinces, 68, 89, 160, 161, 230, 240, 241
Lombardy, 7, 8, 39, 42, 54, 65, 150, 168, 169, 192, 196, 197, 241, 260, 263, 268, 316
Lombroso, Cesare, 405
Lonato, 38
London, 236, 288, 301
London, treaty of, 354, 369
Lorraine, Francis of, 19; house of, 51, 203
Loubet, President, 342
Louis XV., 15
Louis XVIII., 61
Louis Philippe, 98, 99, 102, 103, 105, 159
Lucca, 65; Republic of, 22

Lupatelli of Perugia, 123
Luzzatti ministry, 342
Lyons, Convocation of, 51

Mably, 18
Macerata, 62
Machiavelli, 23
Madama palace, 246 and *note*, 316
Maddalena, 312
Maffei, Marquis Scipione, address to Venetians, 12
Magenta, 197; battle of, 260, 261
Maggiore, Lake, 187, 196, 260
Magra, 242
Makaleh, 330, 331, 332
Malghera, 213, 214
Malta, 274
Mameli, Goffredo, 207, 382; quoted, 170–171
Mamiani, Terenzio, 104, 253
Manara Luciano, at Milan, 164; at Rome, 207
Manin, Daniele, 149, 150, 151, 161, 162, 166, 181, 188, 192, 213, 215, 239, 241 and *note*
Mantua, 8, 38, 41, 60, 100, 167, 172, 173, 180, 181, 182, 231
Manzoni, 119, 380
Marcello, Benedetto, music of, 15
Marches, 5, 53, 54, 100, 208, 265, 269, 278, 279
Mareb-Belesa-Muna line, 333
Maremma, 20
Marengo, battle of, 50; heroes of, 61
Margherita, Count Solaro Della, 144, 145 242, 249 *note*, 250, 251, 253, 255
Margherita, Queen, 320
Margotti, Don, 391
Maria Christina of Savoy, 116, 269
Maria Theresa of Austria, 8, 10, 19, 30, 68
Maria Theresa of Savoy, 236
Marie Adelaide, 218, 236
Marie Louise, Archduchess, 65, 70, 101, 102, 149
Marie Louise of Bourbon, 232
Marinovich at Arsenal, 166
Mark's, St., horses, 42, 215; Piazza, 162, 166; Republic, 179; Standard, 193
Maroncelli, 70, 90, 91
Marsala, 274, 275
Marseilles, 107, 111, 112, 130
Martini, Admiral, 166
Marzano, Marquis of San, 83
Mascheroni, mathematician, 10
Massarani, Tullo, 387
Massena, General, 49, 50
Massowah, 326, 332
Maurienne, 1
Maximilian, 241
Mazzini, Giuseppe, 110, 111, 113, 118, 122, 196, 203, 204, 318, 371; adherents, 239; ideal, 230; letter to Charles Albert, 107–110; quoted, 87
Mazzoni, 140, 192
Medici, 19, 20
Medici, Giacomo, 207, 276
Mediterranean, 344
Melegnano, 260
Melfi, 298
Melzi, Francesco, 51, 52
Menelik, 327, 328, 330, 331, 332
Menichini, 76
Menotti, Ciro, 98, 99, 100, 103, 148
Mentana, 312, 324
Mercantini, quoted, 244–245
Messina, 147, 190, 202, 277, 284, 345, 375
Mestre, 193, 213
Metternich, Prince, 65, 114, 141, 152
Miglio, Francesco, 113
Milan, 9, 32, 43, 52, 60, 69, 89, 160, 167, 179; revolt in, 163–165, 183, 184, 185, 187, 230, 241, 254, 260, 334, 375
Milanese, the, 1; under Austrian rule, 8
Milano, Agesilao, 239
Milazzo, 276, 277
Millesimo, fighting at, 37
Millo, Captain, 349

Mincio, 59, 165, 172, 174, 175, 180, 181, 182, 184, 262, 263, 304, 306
Minghetti, 296, 301, 319
Minto, Lord, 144
Modena, 16, 18, 19, 60, 70, 84, 102, 148, 151, 169, 192, 230, 265, 267, 296; Duke of, 38, 102
Modena, Gustavo, 118
Moncalieri, Proclamation of, 220
Mondovì, 37
Mont Cenis Tunnel, 1, 319
Montanara, 180, 182
Montanari, Count Carlo, 231
Montanelli, Giuseppe, 100, 192
Montebello, 259
Montecitorio palace, 316
Montenegro, 357
Montenotte, fighting at, 37
Monterotondo, 312
Montesquieu, quoted, 3
Monteverde, Giulio, 398
Monte-Video, 187
Montezemolo, 156
Monti, mason, 311
Monti, Vincenzo, 26, 59, 378
Monza, 309
Moravia, prisons of, 231
Morazzone, 210
Morea, loss of, 12
Morelli, Domenico, 398
Morelli, sub-lieutenant, 75, 89
Moro, Domenico, 122, 123
Morocco, 341, 343, 347
Moroni, Gaetano, 127
Morosini, Emilio, 207
Mortara, 197, 198
Morus, 23
Mosto, 274
Munari, Costantino, 91
Murat, Joachim, 57, 59, 60, 62, 72, 75
Mussolini, Benito, 373, 391

Nagara, 349
Naples, 8, 28, 30, 31, 32, 48, 53, 56, 71, 78, 79, 81, 82, 147, 151, 154, 158, 171, 182, 190, 194, 202, 227, 228, 269, 277, 278, 279, 240, 282, 288, 296, 375
Naples and Sicily, kingdom of, 27; reunion of two crowns of, by Ferdinand Bourbon, 72 and *note*
Napoleon Bonaparte, 37, 38, 40, 42, 43, 49, 50, 51, 52, 58, 60, 61, 62, 65, 259
Napoleon, Prince Jérôme, 248, 265, 314
Napoleon, Louis (Napoleon III.), 204, 207, 242, 244, 246, 256, 258, 259, 260, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 283, 297, 300, 301, 303, 306, 309, 310, 312, 313, 314
Nardi of Modena, 123
Navona, Piazza, fountain of, 26
Nazzari, Councillor, 150
Neapolitan painters, 402
Neapolitan States, 27, 75, 279, 282
Negri, Ada, 393
Neipperg, Marshal, 70
Nelson, 44, 46
Neo-Guelph party, 137
Neri, Pompeo, 20
Niccolini, G. B., tragedian, 119, 382
Nice, 1, 37, 36, 200, 267, 278, 294
Nicotera, Giovanni, 240
Nievo, Ippolito, 274
Nile, battle of the, 44
Nitti, F. S., 390
Nola quarter, 75, 76, 89
Novara, 86, 197, 198, 200, 201, 202, 213, 215, 216, 219, 236, 242, 250, 259; railway, 260
Novi, 50
Nugent, General, 175, 176

O'Donnell, 163
Oglio, 184
Oporto, 201
Orlando, 364
Orleans, Duke of, 98
Orsini, Felice, 242

Osoppo, fortress of, 166, 181, 187
Oudinot, General, 206, 207

Padua, 161, 166, 181, 368, 371
Padula, 240
Pagano, Mario, 31, 46
Palermo, 48, 58, 148, 202, 270, 275, 276, 375; revolutions in, 79, 154, 157
Palestro, 259
Palffy, 162, 166
Pallavicini, house of, 8
Pallavicini, Colonel, 300
Pallavicino, Giorgio, 90, 239, 282
Palmanova, 104, 166, 175, 181
Palmerston, Lord, 296
Pantheon, 311
Paoli, Pasquale, Corsican hero, 15
Papal States, 53, 97, 101, 105, 138, 159, 176, 203, 206, 236, 274, 284, 298, 311, 314
Parini, Giuseppe, 32; quoted, 33
Parioli, Monte, 311
Paris, 7, 32, 59, 61, 159, 233, 236, 256; Congress of, 236, 237, 238, 240, 251, 252, 288
Parma, 66, 70, 149, 169, 179, 192, 230, 232, 265, 267, 296; Bourbon dynasty at, 18; ceded to France, 51; duchy of, 16, 60, 65, 151; Duke of, 38; Marie Louise leaves, 101; reinstated in, 102
Parthenopæan Republic, 45
Pasolani, Count, 134
Pasque Veronesi, 42
Passalacqua, 200
Pastrengo, 175, 257
Paul III., Pope, 16
Pavia, 161, 196; university of, 9
Pecci, Cardinal Gioachino, 322
Peel, Sir Robert, 296
Pellico, Silvio, 69, 70, 90; quoted, 118, 119, 381
Pepe, General Florestano, 79
Pepe, General Guglielmo, 76, 81, 178, 179, 193, 215
Pépin, 315
Perez, Francesco, 390; arrest of, 152
Pergolesi, 33
Perosi, Lorenzo, 404
Perrone, 200
Persano, Admiral, 277, 307, 308, 309
Peruzzi, 202
Pesaro, Francesco, 14
Peschiera, 167, 172, 173, 175, 180, 181
Peter, St., Piazza of, 26; successor of, 127; throne of, 134
Philip of Bourbon, Don, 16; death of, 18
Piacenza, 169, 183, 238, 253, 259; ceded to France, 51; dukedom of, 16, 70
Piave, 176, 307, 363, 364, 366, 367
Piazza Castello, 241
Piedmont, 1, 6, 36, 48, 66, 83, 84, 85, 88, 92, 93, 105, 111, 113, 129, 130, 132, 158, 173, 179, 181, 188, 193, 194, 195, 196, 200, 201, 212, 215, 216, 218, 219, 226, 230, 231, 233, 234, 237, 239, 240, 242, 244, 248, 252, 254, 255, 256, 263, 265, 266, 269, 277, 278, 286, 303, 316; clergy in, number of, 4, 6; painters of, 378, 399; re-action in, 69; revolution in, 88
Piedmontese bourgeoisie, 6; government, 68
Pier, Luigi, 16
Pignatelli, General, 44
Pilo, Rosalino, 270
Pio-Clementino, Museo, 26
Pisa, 320; university of, 20, 180; science congresses inaugurated at, 120
Pisacane, Carlo, 240
Pisani, Giorgio, imprisoned, 12
Pius VI., Pope, 26
Pius VII., 27, 53 *note*, 72, 60, 97
Pius VIII., 97, 100

Pius IX., 134, 136, 137, 138, 142, 143, 144, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 158, 159, 172, 176, 177, 191, 204, 230, 269, 300, 314, 320
Pizzo, 62
Plombières, 244, 267
Po, 101, 174, 179, 183, 196, 208, 212, 253, 259, 301, 304, 309
Poerio, Alessandro, 193
Poerio, Carlo, 202, 228–229
Poerio, Giuseppe, 82
Poland, 195, 197
Poma, Carlo, 231
Pompeii, 28
Ponchielli, Amilcare, 404
Pontine marshes, 26
Porpora, 33
Porta Pia, 314
Porta San Paolo, 311
Porta Tosa, fighting at, 164
Porta Vittoria, 164
Portugal, 200
Potenza, 277
Prague, 309
Prati, G., 119, 382
Predari, 156
Presburg, peace of, 52, 53
Procida, Giovanni Da, 152
Prussia, 73, 79, 104, 264, 283, 303, 306, 309, 313; king of, 92, 286
Psitos, 349
Puzyna, Cardinal, 341

Quadrilateral, 166, 167, 172, 263, 264, 296, 304
Quadrilateral fortresses, 175
Quarnero, Gulf of, 359, 365, 369
Quarto, village of, 271
Querini, Angelo, imprisoned, 12
Quirinal, 158, 191, 316, 372

Radetsky, 164, 166, 174, 175, 180, 181, 183, 188, 196, 197, 200, 213, 215, 216, 258
Rainer, 161, 216
Ramorino, Colonel, 113, 196, 197
Rampolla, Cardinal, 341, 342, 353
Rapallo, treaty of, 369
Rapisardi, Mario, 393
Ras Alula, 326
Ras Mangascia, 330
Rasoni, Giovanni, 69
Rattazzi, 296, 300, 310, 312, 319
Ratti, Cardinal, 372
Ravenna, 38
Reggio, 19, 40, 54, 70, 99, 147, 169
Reggio Di Calabria, 278, 345
Revel, Admiral di, 365
Rhine, 43
Rhodes, 349
Ricasoli, Bettino, 140, 158, 202, 265, 266, 296
Ricci, Scipione, bishop of Pistoia, 20
Riciotti, Nicola, 123
Ricotti, Ercole, 156
Rieti, Austrians at, 81, 84
Rimini, battle of, 103; episode of, 127
Rini, 88
Rivarola, Cardinal, 97
Rivoli, 41, 183
Rizzo, Captain, 365
Robert of Parma, 232, 265 *note*
Rocco of Lugo, 123
Romagna, 41, 48, 54, 100, 103, 122, 265, 266, 267, 269, 279, 352
Romagnosi, 69, 70
Roman art, 401, 402
Rome, 10, 20, 23, 24, 26, 44, 155, 158, 171, 176, 203, 204, 206, 207, 210, 211, 224, 278, 286, 287, 288, 289, 294, 297, 298, 300, 301, 310, 311, 313, 315, 320, 343, 375
Romeo, Domenico, 147
Romilli, Count, 150
Ronconi, 94, 95
Roselli, 207
Rosmini, Antonio, 383
Rossaroll, Cesare, 214
Rossetti, Gabriele, 119; quoted, 78, 80

Rossi, Pellegrino, 136, 191
Rossini, Gioachino, 119, 384, 385
Rouher, 313
Rubattino company, 271, 326
Rubiera, Castle of, 91
Rucillai, Giulio, 20
Rudinì, Marquis Di, 328, 333
Ruffini, Giovanni, 94, 113
Ruffini, Jacopo, 112, 113
Ruffo, Cardinal, 46
Russell, Lord, 229, 296; letter of, quoted, 282–283
Russia, 45, 73, 79, 104, 256, 283, 286, 361; Czar of, 92

Saccari, 346
Sacred College, 342
Sadowa, 300
Saffi, 204
Salandra, 350, 354
Salasco, General Di, 173
Salemi, 275
Salerno, 96, 240
Salvagnoli, Vincenzo, 140
San Carlo, theatre of, 28
San Ferno, 260
San Marino republic, 208
San Martino, 262, 269
San Stefano, 152
Sanctis, Francesco De, 392
Sant' Alberto, 212
Santa Lucia, 175, 180, 257
Santa Maria, 324
Santarosa, Pietro Derossi Di, 156, 157
Santarosa, Santorre Di, 86, 88; son of, 201
Santena, 295
Sapri, 240, 270
Saracco, Giuseppe, 340
Sardinia, 2 and *note*, 4, 252, 231, 238, 284, 374
Sarnico, 300
Sarto, Giuseppe, 342
Sauro, Nazario, 359, 360
Savona, 110
Savoy, 4, 37, 36, 65, 113, 196, 267; crown of, 215
Savoy dynasty, 1, 168, 220, 283
Savoy expedition, 113, 114
Savoy, house of, 2 and *note*, 190, 218, 220, 223, 243, 267, 295
Savoy monarchy, 264
Savoy rulers, 66
Scala, La, Confalonieri at, 90
Scala, La, theatre of, 9
Scarsellini, Angelo, 231
Schamyl, 143
Scialoia, Antonio, 202
Sciesa, 230
Sclopis, Federico, 168
Sédan, 314
Sella, Quintino, 319
Semeria, Fr., 405
Senafeh, 330
Serao, Matilde, 394
Serbelloni, house of, 8
Serbia, 351, 357, 368
Serristori barracks, 311
Sesia, 1, 197, 258
Setimo, Ruggero, 154
Settembrini, Luigi, 202; quoted, 146
Sforza *régime*, 8
Sforzesca, 197
Shoa, 327
Siccardi, Count, 224
Siccardi law, 226
Sicilian artists, 402
Sicilian Vespers, 31, 72 *note*, 152
Sicilies, Two, 72 and *note*, 81, 238
Sicily, 8, 31, 53, 57, 72 and *note*, 73, 79, 116, 151, 171, 182, 194, 201, 239, 270, 274, 275, 288, 300, 311, 318, 334
Siena, 192
Siena, university of, 20, 180
Silvati, 75, 89
Sineo, Riccardo, 156
Sirtori, 214, 274
Solferino, 262, 269
Somali peninsula, 327
Somaliland, 344, 376
Sommacampagna, 257
Sonnino ministry, 342, 354
Soudan, 326
South America, 186

Spain, 16, 27, 28, 31, 88, 93, 201, 204
Spallanzani, naturalist, 9
Spaventa, Silvio, 202
Speri, Tito, 231
Spezia, 242 ; gulf of, 300
Spielberg, fortress of, 90
Sterbino, Gulf of, 212
Stradella, college of, 319
Superga, 201 *note*, 295
Suvaroff, 45
Switzerland, 130, 187, 210, 284,
Syracuse, 116

Tagliamento, 41, 187, 363
Tanaro, 259
Tanucci, Bernardo, 27, 28, 30
Taormina, 202
Tartini, 33
Tarvisio, victory at, 41
Tavani-Arquati, Giuditta, 312
Tazzoli, Enrico, 231
Tchernaya, 236, 258
Teano road, 283
Teghetoff, 307
Telamone, 274
Termini, 239
'Thousand, The,' 271, 272, 274, 275, 311
Tiber, 101, 301, 311
Ticino, 1, 7, 85, 86, 129, 167, 185, 196, 197, 242, 258, 259, 260
Tientsin, 377
Tigré, 330, 333
Tillot, Guillaume Du, 18, 30
Tirso, Lake of, 374
Tittoni, 344
Tognetti, 311
Tolentino, treaty of, 41
Tommaseo, 119, 151, 161, 162, 215
Tonelli, 90
Torre, prison of the, 113
Toselli, Major, 330
Toulon, 312
Tour, Count De La, 130, 132
Tour, General De La, 86
Trastevere quarter, 311
Tre Porti, 213
Trent, 40, 307
Trentino, 38, 40, 260, 302, 307, 323, 324, 353, 356, 358, 360
Trevi, fountain of, 26
Treviso, 166, 181
Triepoli, painting of, 15
Trieste, 254, 362, 367, 375
Trinacria, 272
Triple Alliance, 341, 344, 352
Triple Entente, 352
Tripoli, 347, 348
Tripolitania, 341, 350, 376
Trivulzio, house of, 8
Trocadero, 93, 106
Troya, 119
Tunis, 240, 323
Tunisia, 346
Turin, 3, 61, 66, 84, 142, 143, 157, 197, 198, 201 *note*, 216, 218, 224, 239, 241, 246, 248, 258, 266, 279, 284, 286, 288, 294, 295, 301, 302, 346, 375
Turin Exhibition, 346
Turkey, 24, 348, 366
Türr, 274
Tuscan school, 401
Tuscany, 19, 22, 51, 53, 71, 127, 138, 144, 151, 155, 202, 265, 266, 296, 312, 316
Tyrol, 174, 182
Tyrrhenian Sea, 1, 272

Udine, 176, 363 ; capitulation of, 166
Ugoni, Filippo, 69
Umbria, 41, 100, 265, 269, 278, 279
United States, 284, 361
Utopias, 23
Utrecht, peace of, 2 *note*

Val-Arsa, 357, 358
Valence, 44 *note*
Vannucci, 119, 140, 384
Varese, 260, 311, 324
Varignano, 300
Vasto, 78
Vatican, 315, 372
Vela, Vincenzo, 398
Velletri, 207
Venaissin, 41
Venerucci of Forlì, 123

Venetia, 11, 41, 43, 48, 54, 65, 161, 169, 179, 181, 194, 196, 230, 241, 267, 303, 307, 309
Veneto, 373
Venice, 11, 12, 13, 14, 65, 104, 150, 151, 161, 162, 165, 166, 179, 181, 182, 192, 193, 194, 208, 212, 213, 214, 215, 231, 241, 254, 297, 298, 306, 356, 365, 371, 375; school of painting, 400
Ventura, 137
Vercelli, 259
Verdi, Giuseppe, 120, 404
Verga, Giovanni, 394
Verona, 40, 41, 42, 166, 167, 172, 175, 176, 180; Congress of, 92, 93
Verri, Alessandro, 9, 26
Verri, Count Pietro, 26
Versailles, court of, 3; splendours of, 28
Vesuvius, 28
Viareggio, 22
Vicenza, 176, 181, 182, 358
Vicini, Luigi, *see* Agostino Da Montefeltro
Victor Amadeus II., 2 *note*, 31
Victor Amadeus III., 4, 7, 37
Victor Emmanuel I., 60, 83, 116; abdicates, 84; returns to Piedmont, 67
Victor Emmanuel II., 2 *note*, 200, 215, 216, 218, 219, 236, 246, 248, 259, 260, 262, 263, 266, 267, 269, 270, 275, 277, 278, 279, 280, 282, 283, 284, 287, 295, 304, 306, 309, 314, 315, 319, 320; proclamations of, 220–223, 257–258
Vienna, 41, 48, 70, 73, 99, 102, 162, 168, 304, 307, 309, 356, 361, 365, 371, 375; Congress of, 61, 65; peace of, 19
Vigevano, 197
Viglia, 96
Vignale, 216
Villa Marina, Marquis Di, 144, 145, 277
Villafranca, 263; treaty of, 265, 267
Villari, Pasquale, 387
Visconti, Ennio Quirino, 26
Visconti, house of, 8
Vochieri, Andrea, 113
Volta, Alessandro, physician, 9
Volturno, 278, 280

Wagram, 61
Walewski, 236, 238
Warsaw, 286
Waterloo, 62; battle of, 61
Wellington, veterans of, 61
William, King (of Prussia), 303
Wilson, President, 369, 371
Wurmser, retreat of, 38; besieged at Mantua, 40

'Young Italy,' Society of, founded, 112

Zambelli, Giovanni, 231
Zannini, Dr., 212
Zanzibar, 344
Zara, 354, 369
Zichy, military commandant, 162, 166
Zucchi, General, 103, 104, 176; set at liberty, 166
Zürich, peace concluded at, 265

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